# From Oatmeal to Oranges

## A Commodity History of When and How Oranges Became More Common for the Average Swede Between 1865 – 1930


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# PREFACE

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# SAMMANFATTNING

Den här avhandlingen redogör för hur apelsins roll inom svensk konsumtion förändrades från att vara en lyxprodukt till att bli en vanligare vara i svenska hem mellan 1865 – 1930. Den huvudsakliga forskningsfrågan för avhandlingen är hur och varför apelsinen som handelsvara genomgick denna förändring runt sekelskiftet 1800 – 1900. Det första analyskapitlet svarar på frågan genom en ekonomisk analys där Sveriges totala apelsinimport undersöks mot en bakgrund av viktiga ekonomiska, sociala, och politiska fenomen i världen, Europa, och Sverige. Kapitlet använder en etablerad metodik inom ekonomisk historia där importstatistiken analyseras för att fastslå när och till vilken grad apelsinimporten nådde den mängd att frukten kan anses vara en väletablerad del av svenskars matkonsumtion. Resultatet var att apelsinimporten ökade intensivt under 1910- och 1920-talen, till den grad att jag bedömer att frukten då blev en alltmer vanlig handelsvara i svensk konsumtion. Det andra analyskapitlet diskuterar problematiken med ett så övergripande ekonomiskt perspektiv, och ämnar därför att svara på huruvida resultaten speglas i en analys av dagstidningen *Dagens Nyheters* omtalande av apelsiner. I kapitlet undersöks hur, var, och när ordet *apelsin* används i tidningen mellan 1865 – 1930. Emellertid anses inte enbart detta kunna återge en exakt bild av svenskars apelsinkonsumtion, men innehållet i artiklar, reklam och insändare ger en insikt i hur frukten uppfattades i Stockholm och Sverige, och hur frekvent samt till vilket pris den såldes. Resultatet av detta kapitel skiljer sig från det föregående, eftersom analysen indikerar att frukten blev relativt vanlig för de flesta först på 1920-talet, med intryck av att den blev betydligt vanligare på 1930-talet, även om det faller utanför avhandlingens tidsavgränsning. Studien konkluderar att apelsinens integrering i svensk matkonsumtion var en gradvis process som startades under globaliseringen av Sverige i slutet av 1800-talet, och stegrade i etapper, särskilt under 1880-, 1890-, 1910-, och 1920-talen. Detta bekräftas när både den nationella, ekonomiska analysen, och den kulturhistoriska analysen av *Dagens Nyheter* slås samman. Analysen har bidragit med viktig forskning om en specifik handelsvara, som det hittills varit förhållandevis få av inom svensk konsumtionsforskning. Den bidrar med förståelsen att övergripande ekonomiska perspektiv enbart är en del av historien, och att den bör suppleras med andra typer källor och metoder, så som kulturhistorisk analys av primärkällor som tidningar.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

In 2016, representatives for the political party the Sweden Democrats in the small town of Alvesta proposed, in their budget for the following year, a ban on any foods produced outside of Sweden. They wanted the childcare centres, schools and aged care-homes of the town located in the middle of southern Sweden to serve only locally-produced foods. The proposal was immediately ridiculed, with journalists referring to the fact that a significant portion of food consumed daily in Sweden originates elsewhere, for instance bananas, oranges and rice. The local municipal commissioner of Alvesta, social democrat Per Ribacke, cemented this with the argument that Sweden is far too reliant on other countries to supply a vast majority of its consumption goods to be able to adhere to such a limitation. In fact, he maintained, the inhabitants of the town would 'riot' if it was ever attempted.[1] Considering the seasonally harsh climate of Sweden, a constraint on externally-produced foods would demand a return to historical food consumption patterns, where potatoes, oatmeal, and heavily salted meat and fish were centre-pieces. If such a measure was implemented either for Alvesta or Sweden as a whole, not only would people protest intensely, but they would also suffer nutritional damages from no longer having all-year access to fruits, vegetables and other essential dietary components, often sourced abroad. Unsurprisingly, this proposal did not gain traction, and the Sweden Democrats have now resorted to the more realistic and modest approach of promoting locally-sourced foods 'when possible'.[2]

## 1.2 THEME OF RESEARCH

Following this event, I began to consider the premises of Swedish food consumption, and the range of imported goods we consume on a daily basis. What interested me most was the transition from a primarily locally-produced diet, to one where foreign goods were incorporated to a vaster and vaster degree. When, how, and why did this transition occur? Is there a perceivable shift in overarching consumption patterns in Sweden? One assumption is that the changing consumption trends were an expression of globalisation, meaning that as the world grew more interconnected from the latter half of the nineteenth century and onwards,

[1] C. Gimling Shaftoe, 'SD vill stoppa utländsk mat', *SVT Nyheter*, 19 June 2016, accessed: 3 October 2019.
[2] SD, 'Skolmaten', *Sverigedemokraterna*, 13 March 2019, accessed: 18 October 2019.

consumption changes were not only possible but stimulated. The manifestation of an innovative intercontinental connectedness increased imports and exports for a multitude of countries across the globe, rendering goods that were previously geographically restricted to reach new corners of the planet. Bananas serve as a useful example here; originally cultivated in Southeast Asia and later the Americas, they reached Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as an increasingly globalised world enabled quicker transport ensuring the fruit did not spoil on the journey.[3] Bananas came to Sweden shortly after their introduction to Norway in 1905, and were imported more often as of 1909 and onwards. A century later, bananas are today the fruit (although technically a berry) with the highest annual consumption by the average Swede.[4] It is therefore unsurprising that the Sweden Democrats' 2016 proposal was ridiculed. Moreover, it shows how considerably Swedish food consumption has altered over a relatively short period of time.

The overarching theme of this thesis is therefore changing consumption patterns in Sweden around the turn of the twentieth century. This will be explored by examining how items previously considered being a luxury, more specifically oranges, shifted to becoming progressively more available to a larger number of socio-economic groups. The initial focus will be on a national level, followed by a more detailed investigation into how oranges can be perceived to change status within Stockholmers' consumption. The choices motivating the focus points will be elaborated on further on in this chapter. Next, the conceptual considerations that provide the framework and demarcation for this thesis will be discussed. This is followed by a brief historical context, then a historiographical overview of the existing literature. On this foundation, the research questions will be developed and discussed. The last two sections of this chapter consist of an introduction to the source material, and the structure of the thesis.

## 1.3 Conceptual Considerations and Scope of Research

The concept of the 'first wave of globalisation' and the years 1865 – 1930 are crucial to the present research. The reason for this is founded in the above-mentioned notion that the developments that established and then increased banana consumption most likely would have similar effects on other goods. Globalisation is a disputed concept, and scholars debate its

[3] T. Lennerfors and P. Birch, 'Tropics in the Snow: An Introduction', in *Snow in the Tropics: A History of the Independent Reefer Operators*, Boston: Brill, 2019, pp. 3-4.
[4] R. Guerrero Cantarell, 'Lovely Bananas! An Exploration of the Banana Trade in Sweden 1906-1939', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2019), p. 2.

meaning, scope, expressions and particularly how to periodise it. World historians Jürgen Osterhammel and Nils P. Petersson elaborate on the ambiguity of the term in their publication *Globalization: A Short Story*. According to them, globalisation can be viewed as the 'expansion, concentration, and acceleration of worldwide relations.' Furthermore, they consider the impacts to be that 'people, goods and especially information' are transmitted and distributed across national borders to a previously unimaginable degree.[5] Considering these principles, the expansion and diversification of food consumption are thus expected consequences, as transnational networks connected producers with new consumers, establishing new markets and demands globally. Hence, viewing changing consumption patterns as an expression of globalisation is reasonable.

If one then perceives globalisation as a relatively tangible albeit abstract phenomenon, an issue that immediately arises is the concept of *when* it occurred. The scholarly debate regarding the periodisation of globalisation is vast and subject of academic disagreement. While some historians argue that the roots of globalisation can be traced to as early as 5,000 years ago, Osterhammel and Petersson belong to the school of thought arguing for a more recent commencement.[6] Economic historian Jeffrey G. Williamson's famous periodisation serves as the foundation of their argument, although it should be noted that Osterhammel and Petersson define globalisation differently to Williamson, and therefore not too much emphasis should be put on comparing the two perspectives. Instead, they are mentioned in conjunction here because the overall concept of a more recent commencement of globalisation as opposed to primitive roots is reiterated in both works. Williamson developed his theory in the late twentieth century, which presented the perspective that globalisation as a phenomenon was primarily experienced by the North Atlantic economies in the shape of waves. The concept of waves originates from the idea that the increased global interconnectedness can be measured – using various aspects depending on which each historian, economist, or other researchers choose to emphasise – and therefore the increasing and consequently decreasing 'level of globalisation' often takes the shape of a wave that reaches a plateau before decreasing again, when mapped out on diagrams. These waves, according to Williamson, took place approximately 1850 – 1914, followed by a period of stagnation, isolationism and deglobalisation as a result of the First World War in 1914

[5] J. Osterhammel and N. P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short Story*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 5-8.
[6] *ibid*., p. 31.

– 1918, and from the 1950s and throughout the end of the twentieth century.[7] The first period, 1850 – 1914, has consequently become known as the first wave of globalisation.

Historian Pierre-Yves Saunier notes that the World Bank adopted Williamson's periodisation, albeit a revised version where the supposed commencement of the first wave was demarked to the 1870s.[8] As Osterhammel and Petersson point out, by the 1880s the first wave had rendered the global economy 'an interconnected entity', further reinforcing the extent of the impacts on global processes around this time.[9] Saunier further shows, however, that this periodisation has been criticised for its intrinsic focus on the economic perspectives only of Western economies and how they developed and interacted from around the late 1800s and early 1900s. Consequently, this contributes to skewed data as this periodisation model is only applicable to nations within this particular economic context.[10] Sweden's economy around the first wave exhibited the conditions required by Williamson to fit into his periodisation; he repeatedly uses Sweden as an example to support his idea of globalisation and convergence.[11] Therefore, it is an active choice to employ the amended version of Williamson's theory as a broad timeline for this thesis, although the scope has been expanded to 1865 – 1930 for a number of reasons partly related to the primary sources utilised, which will be further discussed later. Thus 'globalisation' has been viewed as a phenomenon, a perspective, and a theory, by various scholars. For the purpose of this thesis, it is viewed as a phenomenon.

As this thesis is concerned with consumption patterns, as visible through orange consumption in Sweden and Stockholm, it is crucial to define the concept. According to Saunier, the notion itself is imprecise, but 'refers to the selection and use of goods and services', as well as entailing the ensuing 'individual and social consequences.' He argues that the emergence of mass production and mass consumerism – two interlinked phenomena pushing each other – has led to an increased focus on the premises and consequences of consumption.[12] In this thesis, a particular 'sub-genre' of consumption, namely food consumption, is the primary focus.

[7] J. G. Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 56, no. 2 (1996), p. 278.
[8] P. Y. Saunier, 'Globalisation', in ed. A. Iriye and P. Y. Saunier *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 458.
[9] Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalization*, p. 84.
[10] Saunier, 'Globalisation', p. 458.
[11] Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History', p. 285.
[12] P. Y. Saunier, 'Consumer Society' in ed. A. Iriye and P. Y. Saunier *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 201.

Consumption historian Frank Trentmann writes that consumption is 'a mirror of the human condition.' He concurs with Saunier's view of the term being ambiguous, maintaining that 'what counts as consumption depends on the observer.'[13] What is essential to extract from this is that consumption itself is a complicated concept to define and pinpoint, and different historians will perceive it differently; assign different aspects more agency and importance than others. In this thesis, therefore, the process and aspect of consumption that is highlighted is that of purchasing foods, and particularly oranges. In other words, the usage of the word 'consumption' throughout this thesis refers to the act of purchasing oranges, and not eating. This thesis does not intend to provide a holistic account of *how* oranges were consumed in Swedish households, i.e. whether they were eaten 'raw', pressed to juice, or used as decoration. Instead, the aspect of food consumption which will be highlighted and examined here is the national imports and consequently the public discourse and advertising of the fruit. These details will be further discussed in section 1.6.

Globalisation and consumption are two intrinsically intertwined concepts, and the complexity of assigning either one as the 'driving force' for the other, is virtually impossible – if even useful. Instead, the continuously escalating consumption of goods during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be viewed both as an expression of globalisation, but also an accelerant. In other words, the growing availability of goods created a heightened desire for larger and more diversified consumption, which in turn spurred on further connections with producers abroad. This intensified networks and production which then provided even larger amounts of goods to be purchased. The processes of globalisation can thus be viewed as inherently tied with the evolution of consumption; two facilitators continuously enhancing the efficacy and global reach of the other.

This is relevant because one of the primary source collections for the analysis consists to a vast degree of advertisements in the Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. This primary source, a medium of both displaying contemporary consumption and promoting it, is one of the reasons for employing the timeframe 1865 – 1930. While further details of the paper and the choice to utilise it as a primary source will be discussed later on in this chapter, it suffices to acknowledge here that the paper was first published in late 1864, and printed regularly from

[13] F. Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 1-3.

early 1865. Consequently, I choose to include the five years prior to Williamson's suggested 1870 starting point of the first wave because I deem it relevant to explore the early years of the paper's existence and broaden the scope of the research. The additional five years contribute with an understanding of how oranges were first advertised and discussed in *DN*, and can be juxtaposed with later findings.

The choice to expand the timeframe up to the year of 1930, and beyond Williamson's periodisation, was made on the basis that while the First World War greatly interrupted the global trade, the following years contributed to a massive expansion of trade and changing consumption trends. The benefit of using Williamson's periodisation as a starting point, without limiting the scope of the research based on it, is the ability to draw conclusions based on a larger source material and moving beyond restrictions placed by various theories. The choice to expand the research to 1930 is primarily founded on the notion that the years including and following the First World War were important for food consumption in Sweden. The war years constituted 'severe import difficulties' from 1916, and ensuing rationing, which in combination with higher food prices primarily disfavoured consumers in urban settings.[14] During the following decade, 'urban life flourished', and as the second analysis chapter will focus on orange consumption in the urban context of Stockholm, it is vital to include these years when consumption had the appropriate conditions to change. Furthermore, the 1920s showcase considerable changes in orange imports which is why they are important to include in the analysis.

## 1.4 Historical Context

The period of 1865 – 1930 saw several crucial events take place, both globally and within the Swedish context, that are relevant to the present research. What I deem the most significant events will be briefly outlined below in order to contextualise the time period, and discussed in further detail in the relevant chapters. It should not be viewed as an exhaustive summary of all essential economic and social events occurring during the years in question, but a selection of events that are relevant for the topic.

[14] C. Martiin, 'Farming, Favoured in Times of Fear: Swedish Agricultural Politics, 1935 – 1955', in ed. P. Brassley, *War, Agriculture and Food: Rural Europe from the 1930s to the 1950s*, New York: Taylor and Francis, 2012, pp. 158-159.

As previously highlighted, this thesis' timeframe originally emerged from the anticipation that increased and more diverse consumption was an expression of globalisation, which then spurred on the latter in a feedback loop. The growing interconnectedness between countries across the globe allowed products to move more freely, as Trentmann and Petersson aptly note.[15] In the mid-1800s, the world started to reap the benefits of increased globalisation, as goods, people and foods reached corners of the Earth they previously had not. In the Swedish context, this translated to an initial liberal trade approach followed by the implementation of tariffs as the first negative drawbacks of globalised trade became visible, namely that disruptions in trade could cause economic crises affecting several nations simultaneously.[16] Consequently, European nations started to appraise the risks of a globalised trade in the last decades of the 1800s, spurred on by an economic crisis in the 1870s, and turned to more protectionist policies.[17]

During most of the 1800s, until about the last two decades, the Swedish population was primarily composed of farmers, and the economy was fundamentally agrarian.[18] Historians agree that around the turn of the twentieth century, Sweden became industrialised and the composition of its economy and population altered.[19] The number of people residing in cities increased, and as the working class outside of the agrarian sector amplified, so did living standards and salaries.[20] As disposable income grew, primarily for urban citizens, a culture of consumption manifested itself. Historian Frank Trentmann argues that this could be interlinked with identity-formation; namely to 'fit in' to a specific context.[21] Swedes who moved to the cities were inclined to adapt to already established ideals of how to look, act, and consume in order to fit in. Consumption in general grew steadily across the European continent, evolving into mass consumption, according to Trentmann.[22] This demonstrates the psychosocial importance of consumption, and how it managed to manifest itself so fundamentally across nations engaging in global trade. It furthermore shows the climate which fostered diversified diets and food consumption in the Stockholm context, as Trentmann notes that cities were ideal

[15] Osterhammel and Petersson, *Globalization*, p. 8.
[16] L. Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 76-77.
[17] R. Hobson, 'Etter liberalismen kommer nasjonalismen: 1880-årene viser vei', *Internasjonal Politikk*, vol. 77 (2019), p. 3.
[18] L. Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, New York: Routledge, 2012, p. 3.
[19] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 83; Y. Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 1983, p. 17.
[20] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 131.
[21] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 94.
[22] *ibid*., p. 121.

places for 'product differentiation and specialized services.'[23] Although, as consumption increased, so did the anti-consumption mindset. As chapters three and four will detail, the turn of the twentieth century saw discussions about overindulgence and unnecessary consumption in Stockholm, showing the ambivalent relationship between desiring increased consumption and contemplating its perceived negative impacts. This is relevant as oranges are the focal point of this essay, and were luxury items for a vast portion of their presence in Swedish consumption history, since at least the 1500s.

Much is unknown about the Swedish population's economic reality of this time, especially when considering the differences between urban and rural populations. In the 1880s a surge in wages induced consumption changes and ultimately created new lifestyles in Sweden.[24] Economic historian Lennart Schön argues in his comprehensive work on modern Swedish economy that the 1890s marked a transition of the economy from agrarian to industrialised.[25] This caused a transformation in consumption and generated a manufacturing boom, which in turn created what Schön refers to as 'a new working class'. This class increased from around 100,000 workers in 1870 to around 320,000 in 1890. The total Swedish population increased only by 600,000 during the same period, showing the significant growth of the working class.[26] Around the turn of the twentieth century, about 25 % of Sweden's population resided in cities.[27] Stockholm had around 250,000 inhabitants in 1890, and a vast majority of them likely belonged to the working class, although there is no exact data to draw upon.[28]

For a large portion of the Stockholm working class in the early stages of industrialisation, the reality was likely that of economic hardship. This means that a vast quantity of Stockholmers only had enough income to sustain themselves until conditions improved as of 1890 and onward. Historian Yvonne Hirdman affirms this by suggesting that the average daily cost for Stockholmers to nutritionally sustain themselves often was more than what the average salary could cover, until the early 1900s. Despite that Stockholmers often had slightly larger salaries than urban workers in other cities, there were still large quantities of people without disposable

[23] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 93.
[24] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 12.
[25] *ibid*., p. 83.
[26] *ibid*., p. 111.
[27] I. T. Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe: Economic Regimes from Laissez-Faire to Globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 2.
[28] S. Ström, 'Befolkningen i Stockholm 1252 – 2005', *Utrednings- och Statistikkontoret*, 14 November 2005, accessed: 7 May 2021.

income until at least the 1900s in the capital. According to Hirdman, the industrialisation from 1890 and onwards brought an increase in salaries for physical work with over 65 %, consequently increasing the standard of living, as food costs only rose with about 25 % between 1875 and 1910.[29]

The 1900s saw several significant changes. The improvement of the railway networks and shipping industries across both Europe and Sweden enabled easier transport of goods, rising living standards reduced the amount of the urban population experiencing economic hardship, and societal changes like for example the suffrage movement altered the social structures of Sweden as a whole. Across the globe, the urban populations were increasing dramatically.[30] With them, a demand for centralised shopping emerged, and shopping centres and department stores appeared in urban areas.[31] In the context of Sweden, this translated to the establishment of market halls. Historically, food in Sweden had been purchased from market stands, and in the cities, it was bought over the counter at so called 'city shops'.[32] In 1882, however, the first market hall was established in Stockholm.[33] A 1916 dictionary defines the market hall as a place where all delicate products were gathered and distributed under one roof, like meats and produce that were adversely affected by being sold at market stalls in squares. The enclosed space allowed food retailers to ensure the quality of their products, while avoiding damages from wind, rain, and direct sunlight.[34] This profoundly changed the retail experience.[35] These adjustments allowed for fundamental consumption changes, consequently allowing orange consumption to increase dramatically in Sweden.

Moreover, the 1910s saw the Great War unfold with all its social, economic, and political consequences, followed by a decade of what Williamson denoted as exhibiting processes of deglobalisation. Historian Carin Martiin argues that in the Swedish context, it was more a matter of increased standard of living and 'a modernised way of life' – at least for the urban

[29] Y. Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, Stockholm: Rabén och Sjögren, 1983, pp. 18-23.
[30] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 174.
[31] *ibid*., pp. 190-210.
[32] M. Kärrholm and K. Nylund, 'Escalating Consumption and Spatial Planning: Notes on the Evolution of Swedish Retail Spaces', *European Planning Studies*, vol. 19, no. 6 (2011), p. 1045.
[33] Different sources suggest different years. While this article claims 1882, a dictionary from 1916 argues that the first market hall was established in Stockholm 1875. 'Saluhall', *Nordisk Familjebok*, vol. 24 (1916), pp. 535. Regardless, it shows that food shopping altered in the 1800s.
[34] 'Saluhall', *Nordisk Familjebok*, pp. 534-535.
[35] Kärrholm and Nylund, 'Escalating Consumption and Spatial Planning', p. 1046.

populations.[36] All these factors create the context within which Swedish consumption was able to evolve and diversify, and are as such essential to consider as a backdrop throughout the analysis.

## 1.5 Existing Research Literature

There is a limited range of secondary literature detailing Swedish consumption patterns around the twentieth century, and it tends to be relatively broad in scope. As will be further discussed below, many of the existing works approach the topic of food consumption in Sweden from either an economic or agricultural perspective, and attempt to distinguish overarching patterns of change. While the literature thus highlights the crucial developments and changes that both allowed and stimulated adaptations of consumption patterns, there is a lack of sources analysing specific food items in-depth and their place in Swedish consumption. Swedish food commodity histories are rare. Hence, there is both space and demand for research to emerge which utilises the overarching understandings of Swedish consumption to delve into more specific, in-depth commodity histories.

In order to analyse Swedish consumption patterns, it is essential to acknowledge and analyse the current scholarship on the topic. Below, some relevant research has been divided into two categories which demonstrate their respective historical field, namely history of consumption, and economic history. While some of the works may correspond with more than one category, they have been divided in this manner based on which historiographical categories they share most features with. It should also be noted that some works may have been produced with a different approach in mind, but for the purpose of this thesis, the present categorisations hold the most relevance. While not all sources showcase the same degree of applicability to the present topic, they feature information which in many ways enhance the understanding of the Swedish context and consumption at the time. The combination of different historiographical approaches can extend and diversify the analysis of a detailed commodity history, by contributing useful findings that a singularised approach may overlook.

### 1.5.1 History of Consumption

The history of consumption field is fundamentally occupied with investigating how, when, why and where consumption patterns have arisen and altered over time. A publication of this

[36] Martiin, ‘Farming, Favoured in Times of Fear’, p. 158.

approach is the 1983 academic paper produced by economic historian Mats Essemyr, whose focus encompasses the evolving food consumption and standard of living of Swedes from the 1600s until 1933. The low availability of source material with regard to food consumption is an issue which Essemyr corroborates.[37] His text shows that food consumption trends within the Swedish context had the potential of fluctuating depending on the circumstances. It functions as a pointer to where the field of Swedish food history may have gained increased interest, and how the overview approach has dominated the research literature.

Another historian who highlights the difficulty of extracting details regarding Swedish consumption around the turn of the twentieth century is Tina-Simone Schmid Neset. In her 2004 publication 'Reconstructing Swedish Food Consumption from Hospital Diets After 1870', she confirms the limited range of sources, and notes that the historians that do engage with micro perspectives tend to focus primarily on meat consumption. From this it can be gathered that Swedish consumption is understudied, and thus it is difficult to distinguish details beyond the notion that consumption itself was escalating.[38] Schmid Neset makes a range of interesting remarks, including the initial lack of fruit in the Swedish diet as compared to other European populations. However, she also suggests that the records she bases these findings on are somewhat exaggerated as they were extracted from hospitals and similar institutions, which often promoted health-improving dietary components disproportionally, like dairy.[39] Furthermore, the geographically limited reach of said records render them impractical to use as foundation for national generalisations. Schmid Neset highlights that it is problematic to utilise these sources, but suggest that her findings can 'reflect the large-scale changes in Sweden.'[40] With a focus that is primarily concerned with hospital diets, but also draws on other institutions – including poorhouses – it is problematic to assume that the generalisations made in this research can be used to draw reliable conclusions about Swedes' food consumption.

Schmid Neset argues that in the late 1800s, the Swedish consumption of fruits and berries was very limited, with the per capita consumption constituting as little as 2,5 kilograms annually. In comparison, the per capita consumption in 2004 was 92 kilograms per year. While the latter

[37] M. Essemyr, 'Food Consumption and Standard of Living: Studies on Food Consumption Among Different Strata of the Swedish Population 1686-1933', *Department of Economic History*, Uppsala Universitet, 1983, p. 1.
[38] T.-S. Schmid Neset, 'Reconstructing Swedish Food Consumption from Hospital Diets After 1870', *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2004), pp. 151-152.
[39] *ibid*., pp. 166-169.
[40] *ibid*., p. 156.

number is allegedly based on national data of consumption, the former is based on 'hospital regulations' and consequently cannot be used as a reliable indication.[41] Furthermore, there is no indication as to *which* fruits and berries the data concerns. It can be insinuated that *perhaps* approximately 2,5 kilograms was the national average. Regardless of what the exact number was, it is remarkably different from that of the early 2000s. Therefore, the explosive increase of fruit consumption – which is relevant to the present research – is a promising area to study. Schmid Neset further suggests that this expansion was primarily due to the industrialisation of Sweden from the 1870s, generating higher disposable incomes, while food prices were simultaneously lowered thanks to enhanced production, 'transportation and storage.'[42] What these factors entail will be further discussed in chapter two.

These perspectives are reiterated by historian Jenny Lee. The ambition of her 2009 publication titled 'The Market Hall Revisited: Cultures of Consumption in Urban Food Retail During the Long Twentieth Century' is to examine the market halls that emerged during the second half of the 1800s. Lee finds that from the 1870s and onwards, Sweden underwent a process where it evolved from a 'poor agrarian country to a successful nation'.[43] She notes that the consumption of 'high quality and luxury foods' to demonstrate wealth and class was enhanced during this time, showing the interconnectedness between industrialisation and consumption changes.[44] Moreover, Lee details the methods of trading and selling food during this time in Sweden, focused on Stockholm, showing that shopping developed into an urban experience located in a single place, i.e. the market hall, for a more consumer-oriented shopping experience.

Another crucial note is Lee's indirect discussion on the impact of a globalised food market on Swedish food security. She highlights that trade complications overseas prompted authorities in Stockholm to contemplate the risks of depending on international trade. As a result, there was an increased call for motivating domestic production around the turn of the twentieth century, to reduce the risks associated with Sweden being engulfed in the global market.[45] Lee shows that the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs distributed questionnaires to the countries

[41] Schmid Neset, 'Reconstructing Swedish Food Consumption', p. 169.
[42] *ibid*., p. 170.
[43] J. Lee, 'The Market Hall Revisited: Cultures of Consumption in Urban Food Retail During the Long Twentieth Century', Linköpings Universitet, 2009, p. 15.
[44] Lee, 'The Market Hall Revisited', p. 26.
[45] *ibid*., p. 98.

it imported from, in order to assess whether the pricing in Stockholm was justified. Lee provides more detail by pointing to that goods such as 'fish, shellfish, meat, milk, fruit […] benefitted […] from rapid, refrigerated transports', and originated as far away as Australia.[46] Lee thus shows the changes in consumption trends that took place in Sweden around the turn of the twentieth century, and links the changes to industrialisation and processes of globalisation. The improved transport systems allowed products to cover vast distances, consequently diversifying the market, as will be further detailed in chapter two.

Economic historian Ylva S. Sjöstrand notes in her work from 2014 that industrialisation generated a rapid growth of Stockholm's urban population during the late 1800s and early 1900s alongside heightened living standards, which ultimately altered consumption patterns.[47] According to her, almost all of Stockholmers' household waste in the late 1800s was compostable, but by 1901 the amount had reduced to 75 % due to the increased use of hermetic jars and other food containers.[48] This shows that consumption patterns were altering in Stockholm, from having previously been primarily concerned with locally-produced foodstuffs, to using new varieties of food in new types of containers. Hypothetically, a lot of the hermetic jars contained foods that needed to remain fresh for a long period of time, for instance during long-haul shipping. Sjöstrand shows that the new reality of Stockholmers' consumption caused prompted the city to by 1907 implement new waste sorting and recycling systems. This is essential for this thesis because Sjöstrand notes that the new system adapted for different types of fruits.[49] In turn, this shows that a more advanced fruit consumption and globalised market had emerged by the early 1900s in Stockholm. Considering the thesis' focus on orange consumption in Sweden and Stockholm, this is a hint toward increased incorporation of various fruits.

As one of the pivotal focuses of the thesis is Stockholm, it is vital to consider the importance of cities in the context of consumption. Historian Frank Trentmann has researched this topic, and points out emulation as a crucial effect of an expanding urban class with disposable incomes in an increasingly globalised world. Emulation is the idea that people want to imitate their perceived superiors by consuming similar goods, i.e. luxury foods or items of clothing to

[46] Lee, 'The Market Hall Revisited', pp. 98-100.
[47] Y. S. Sjöstrand, 'Stadens Sopor: Tillvaratagande, Förbränning och Tippning i Stockholm 1900-1975', Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014, p. 14, 39.
[48] *ibid*., pp. 53-54.
[49] *ibid*., p. 60.

simulate a feeling of elevated social status.[50] A culture of consumption emerged, straying from being a matter of necessity and survival, to enjoyment and leisure. Furthermore, he points to the importance of cities in relation to consumption. They were ideal for 'tickling desires' and fostering interest in 'new tastes'.[51] Trentmann aptly notes that the early stages of consumption craze created a feedback loop, where more nuanced and varied consumption was continuously desired and promoted. He also highlights that different areas of research attribute different meanings to consumption. For instance, he argues that sociologists tend to argue that consumption can be a sign of emulation, while economists maintain it is a reflection of individual desires related to pleasure.[52]

The concept of 'needing' consumer products that were not in any sense of the word actually 'necessary', is reiterated by cultural historian Christine Myrvang. She notes that around the turn of the twentieth century the incentive to purchase new products was often fostered by advertisements, as there had emerged a need to imitate and copy the choices and purchases of peers.[53] She also makes the interesting note that women were responsible for 75 % of household purchases at this time, and consequently often the intended audience of adverts related to consumer goods.[54]

Historians Mats Morell and Janken Myrdal's comprehensive work *The Agrarian History of Sweden: 4000 BC to AD 2000* from 2011 outlines the transition from an agrarian to an industrialised society. They highlight that the global market was influencing Swedes' consumption habits, specifically that Swedish households had higher disposable incomes to spend on 'imported foods and groceries.'[55] While this shows the increasing influence of the international market on Swedish consumption habits, there are few indications as to *which* foods were imported; a trend visible in most available literature on the topic. This again supports the need for commodity studies within Swedish food consumption history.

This section has showcased that the current research into Swedish consumption history has primarily assumed an overview perspective, where broader consumption changes have been

[50] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 71.
[51] *ibid*., p. 93.
[52] *ibid*., pp. 118-119.
[53] C. Myrvang, *Forbruksagentene: Slikt vekket de kjøpslysten*, Oslo: Pax, 2009, p. 169.
[54] *ibid*., pp. 161-162.
[55] M. Morell and J. Myrdal, *The Agrarian History of Sweden: 4000 BC to AD 2000*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011, p. 166.

the focal point. While these are crucial perspectives to acknowledge, they lack the detail and exhaustive understanding that commodity studies contribute with. Therefore, the available literature shows that there is both space and demand for a study of a particular commodity, in a particular place – in this instance, oranges in Stockholm.

### 1.5.2 Economic History

Economic historians Sybille Lehmann and Oliver Volckart discuss agricultural tariff policy shifts in their publication 'The Political Economy of Agricultural Protection: Sweden 1887' from 2011. According to them, 65 % of the Swedish working class were farmers in 1887, and as such were devoted to protecting the domestic agricultural industries from imports. Furthermore, they detail that the majority of imported goods to Sweden at this time were agricultural and food products.[56] This indicates the prevalence and scope of imported foods already in the early stages of the first wave of globalisation, as well as the impact of the global market on Sweden.

Economic historian Lennart Schön's 2012 book *An Economic History of Modern Sweden* provides a comprehensive account of the progression of Sweden's economy and the subsequent social changes in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He highlights that the agrarian population of Sweden diminished in size during the late 1800s to be replaced with a rapidly expanding urban population.[57] Alongside this, Sweden's 'GDP growth began to accelerate in the 1890s', contributing to swiftly improved living standards. With better living conditions and higher disposable incomes came a sharp increase in consumption, which was interlinked with the growing working class' increased social status.[58] This shows that Swedish consumption had the necessary conditions to diversify and rely less on domestically-produced foods, as there were more people dependent on purchasing their food rather than growing it themselves, and increasingly so in urban settings.

This section showed that the political and economic conditions in Sweden between 1865 – 1930 stimulated societal change, visible in for instance food consumption. These findings confirm the understanding that the time period in question was crucial for consumption

[56] S. Lehmann and O. Volckart, 'The Political Economy of Agricultural Protection: Sweden 1887', *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2011), p. 35.
[57] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, pp. 3-4.
[58] *ibid*., pp. 138-139.

changes, thus making it an ideal timeframe within which the present research can explore changing consumption of oranges.

## 1.6 Research Questions

As shown above, there is relatively little research done into Swedish food consumption, and the research that does exist only examines it in broad terms. In other words, there is both space and need for more detailed consumption studies within the Swedish context. Consequently, an interest in producing a commodity history that focuses on one such good arose. When choosing which product to address, historian Maxine Berg's comments regarding luxury consumption were instrumental. According to her, luxury consumption accelerated from the seventeenth century and onwards, and it was further diversified and spurred on by processes related to globalisation. She suggests that research literature on luxury consumption is lacking, and that there is a need to explore the concept further.[59] This notion, alongside the finding that Swedish food consumption has been understudied in general, guided the decision to produce a commodity history of a luxury item imported to Sweden.

The overarching research question of this thesis is when and how oranges transitioned from being a rare luxury in the beginning of the first wave of globalisation, to becoming what can be viewed as a 'staple good' in many Swedish homes in the early 1900s. It is hypothesised that this transition took place within the timeframe of this thesis, namely the expanded version of Williamson's first wave. The reasons for assuming this are primarily based on the ideas presented in the historical context, which presumably provided the appropriate conditions for orange consumption to alter. The following research question is therefore the focus of chapter three:

*How did orange import change between 1865 – 1930, and what does it imply about changing consumption patterns in Sweden?*

The first and overarching research question's scope is that of the entire Swedish context. The ambition is to examine whether the findings related specifically to oranges can assist in portraying a wider understanding of Swedish consumption changes within this particular

[59] M. Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and Industrial Growth', in ed. F. Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 186-191.

timeframe. The first analysis chapter will thus focus on the wider Swedish context in relation to oranges, to create an overarching perspective of national orange consumption. The following analysis chapter will employ a more specific focus on the capital city Stockholm, with the following question in focus:

*How were oranges portrayed in Dagens Nyheter between 1865 – 1930?*

This decision is based on the understanding that cities play a crucial role in consumption changes, as has been highlighted throughout this chapter. The choice to focus on Stockholm is partly based on the fact that Stockholm have of the largest shipping ports and therefore received large quantities of the imported oranges, as will be discussed in section 1.7.2. It is also mainly due to the availability of the source material related to *Dagens Nyheter*, dating back to the 1800s with a digital archive, as shown in section 1.7.3. The source materials are presented below, following a short discussion on the methodology.

## 1.7 Source Material

### 1.7.1 Methodology and Approaches to Sources

There are two analysis chapters in this thesis, chapters three and four. The former is concerned with the analysis of import statistics for oranges to Sweden between 1865 – 1930. A more detailed discussion of the statistics documents is provided in section 3.1.2. The results are compiled in section 3.2.1, and examined in order to discern fluctuations, observable long-term increases and decreases. Thereafter follows a discussion on the implications of these findings on the current understanding of the national consumption of oranges. From the data, a number of 'year-sets' (which will be used in chapter four) are extracted based on fluctuations that I deem to be standing out when compared to the overall data. These will be discussed in section 4.1.1 in chapter four. The fundamental source depositories are briefly introduced below, with a more in-depth description in the relevant chapters.

Chapter four will utilise the findings of chapter three as a foundation for an in-depth analysis of Stockholmers' orange consumption. The methodology is to examine adverts, opinion pieces and news reports that use the word *apelsin* – the Swedish word for orange – in Stockholm-based newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. By doing this, on the background of the national import of oranges, the ambition is to discern how oranges changed from being a rarity to becoming a

staple good. The choice to utilise *Dagens Nyheter* as well as the limitations and benefits of using it as a primary source will be further outlined in section 4.1.1.

Chapters three and four are examples of two different approaches to history. The former employs methods of economic history, while the latter is more concerned with cultural history. This thesis will, in other words, combine two different approaches, to two different sets of sources. This is to ensure a more holistic and well-rounded narrative; attaching too much meaning and attention to the findings of one of the chapters could risk forming an unreliable account which emphasises one viewpoint disproportionally. While this combination does not create an indisputable analysis, it contributes with the perspective of viewing orange consumption both from the 'outside' and 'within'.

### 1.7.2 Statistical Documents

The analysis of chapter three is primarily based on import statistics to create an economic history analysis of the orange import to Sweden 1865 – 1930. The statistics are retrieved from the Swedish government agency *Statistiska Centralbyrån* (SCB), which organises and distributes Swedish statistics for public access. All the trade statistics used in this thesis are derived from two main collections of SCB, namely BiSOS and SOS. BiSOS is an acronym for *Bidrag till Svensk Officiell Statistik*,[60] and is a collection comprising all recorded statistics for Sweden between 1851 – 1917. It is divided into subcategories labelled A, B, C, and so forth. The subsection which is used in this thesis is primarily BiSOS F, which details Swedish imports, exports, and shipping industry between 1858 – 1910. It discontinued in 1910, prompting the replacement by *Svensk Officiell Statistik*.[61] As part of SOS, so-called yearbooks were published between 1914 – 2014, titled *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige*.[62] The yearbooks contain the information on imports, exports, and shipping industries that had previously been part of BiSOS F. While there is a gap between the discontinuation of the BiSOS F reports in 1910 and the commencement of the SOS yearbooks in 1914, the data is accounted for in the latter. The two collections, how they were utilised, as well as their limitations and benefits are outlined in section 3.1.2.

[60] English translation: *Contributions to Swedish Official Statistics*.
[61] English translation: *Swedish Official Statistics*.
[62] English translation: *Statistical Yearbook for Sweden*.

### 1.7.3 Dagens Nyheter

*Dagens Nyheter* serves as the foundational primary source depository for chapter four, from which advertisements, opinion pieces, news reports and other varieties of text will be examined. *DN* is one of the oldest and largest newspapers in Sweden, first published 23 December 1864 in Stockholm, with its regular and nearly daily issues printed from 2 January 1865 and onwards. From this date and until the end of 1992, every issue has been digitised and is available in an online archive. While the base of the paper is in Stockholm, its first editor Rudolf Wall argued that *DN*'s ambition was to satiate the need of *all* Swedes of a daily, cheap newspaper so that as many people as possible – both within Stockholm and across the country – could access relevant news, in an easily legible format. According to Wall, the paper's decision to only charge six *öre* per line in advertisements was 'cheaper than in any other capital-based paper', making it ideal for advertisers. Furthermore, he highlights that the paper intends to publish information that concerns 'everyone', and alongside his expressed ideas of free speech, individual freedom, and equal rights for all, this suggests that *DN*'s anticipated reach was across all social classes.[63] In other words, *DN* is a very useful source to analyse. Further details on the use of the source in this thesis, the year-sets used, as well as paper's benefits and limitations as a source, are discussed in section 4.1.1.

### 1.7.4 Supplementary Sources

While the foundational primary source collections for chapters three and four are the BiSOS F reports, yearbooks, and *DN*'s digital archive, other sources are utilised to substantiate the findings. Parliamentary motions are important supplementary sources for several reasons. Firstly, because they display the debates in parliament and therefore which discussion topics were crucial to politicians and the public alike at different times. Secondly, because they cement and substantiate the findings in the analysis chapters in terms of tariff debates, and the ambivalence regarding whether to view oranges as a nutritional necessity or unnecessary luxury good. Thirdly, where it is indicated, the political leanings of the motions' authors can suggest the importance of the fruit for different socio-economic groups.

Alongside the primary statistics mentioned above, I have utilised a series of statistical documents from *Statistiska Centralbyrån* detailing population growth, population distribution across Stockholm, as well as statistics indicating the proportions of different socio-economic groups. Their primary function is to substantiate the arguments of chapters three and four by

[63] 'Anmälan', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 December 1864, p. 1.

contextualising the populations that consumed oranges. Chapter two is based on secondary literature.

## 1.8 Structure of Thesis

This thesis consists of, apart from the introductory and concluding chapters, three main chapters. Chapter two functions as a background chapter providing crucial insights into the origin of oranges, their transnational spread, and the global citrus industry and its most important contributors.

Chapter three is an economic analysis primarily concerned with examining the statistical documents BiSOS F and SOS yearbooks as discussed above. The aim of this chapter is to explore the fluctuations and developments in national orange imports to Sweden 1865 – 1930 and draw conclusions in terms of changing consumption habits. This chapter has a broad focus on Sweden's consumption, as the import statistics record the national imports. The ambition of this analysis chapter is to provide insights and analyse orange consumption in Sweden in general between 1865 – 1930.

Chapter four is the second analysis chapter and employs an approach of a history of consumption analysis. The primary focus is the various advertisements, news reports, opinion pieces and other texts published in *Dagens Nyheter* in a number of year-sets between 1865 – 1930. In collaboration with the findings from the previous chapter, this chapter aims at further enhancing the narrative by looking specifically at Stockholm as a case study. It is assumed that *Dagens Nyheter* cannot comprehensively capture all of Sweden's nor Stockholm's orange consumption in detail, but it can provide a reliable insight into the general orange consumption in Stockholm as most advertisers were located in the capital.

The concluding chapter will combine the findings from both analyses and discuss to what degree they corroborate each other's conclusions, and what these findings suggest both about the orange consumption in Sweden in general and Stockholm in particular, but also the general food consumption in Sweden between 1865 – 1930.

# 2. A Brief Overview of The History of Oranges

## 2.1 Background

In order to understand the Swedish trade with oranges, it is essential to understand the fruit's origin and evolution over time. This chapter will touch on the etymology, biological evolution, transnational spread, emergence of industry, and manifestation of oranges across different cultures and nations. It will detail how oranges developed from being a rare luxury good utilised for its scent and as a form of seasoning, into being readily available in the fruit bowls of homes across the globe. While there is a plethora of aspects of the global orange cultivation and trade that could be analysed, this chapter will only aim to provide a brief background, as the research is concerned with how and when they became a common food item in Sweden, and Stockholm in particular. While information regarding the cultivation and trade of oranges is important in order to understand the consumption in Sweden, rigorous detail is beyond the scope of this research, justifying the overview approach undertaken in this chapter.

Neither this chapter nor this thesis intend to scrutinise specifically where the oranges consumed in Sweden originated from, and this is due to the conditions of the source material. Oranges that originate in São Paulo, then shipped to Hamburg, before being shipped to Sweden are in the import statistics listed as being imported from the German Empire. The locations that are most often referred to in the statistics (until this information was excluded as of 1914) are the German Empire, the United Kingdom and Denmark, often followed by Italy.[64] The three former ones unsurprisingly cannot cultivate oranges and must therefore be locations of redistribution, as is further discussed in section 3.1.3.

An example is that it may seem as though Spain only exported 1,007 kilograms of oranges to Sweden in 1895, while Italy that same year exported over 214,000 kilograms.[65] However, considering that the German Empire's, Denmark's and the United Kingdom's orange exports to Sweden amassed over one million kilograms, which – as this chapter will demonstrate – most likely originated in Spain, the perspective of the European orange market shifts.

[64] This indicates that perhaps Italy exported directly to Sweden, whereas countries like Spain and Palestine went via established European markets.
[65] 'BiSOS F: Handel, *Statistiska Centralbyrån*, Stockholm, 1896, p. 46.

Furthermore, while the adverts that will be analysed in chapter four list 'Valencia oranges' and 'Messina oranges' which at first look may seem like the name of their place of origin, this is not always the case. As will be discussed below, names of oranges rarely correspond with their place of origin, and additionally the more popular varieties are often grown in many places across the globe, thus rendering the names an ineffective clue as to their place of origin. The important note to make here is the difficulty of tracing the origin of oranges imported to Sweden, which is why it is outside the scope of this thesis.

This chapter is split into four sections. The first one provides a brief overview of the biological origins of oranges and their evolution. The second section discusses the contested history of how and why they reached Europe and consequently Sweden. The third section analyses the emergence of the global citrus industry, with regard to some especially important countries' industries. The final section summarises the findings of this chapter to demonstrate how they provide a critical backdrop for the two analysis chapters.

### 2.1.1 Etymology

The tree-grown, spherical fruit with an orange rind and a sweet, slightly acidic flavour that we know as an *orange*, has held many names through history. The word has been argued to have entered English through French in the 1200 or 1300s, and has since then been known as for instance *horonge*, *orynge*, and *orriange*.[66] The French word was most likely an adaptation of Italian, which in turn was an adaptation of Arabic *nāranj*; a derivative of Sanskrit *narangah.*[67] In other words, the etymology of the word hints to the fruit's presence across the world. In this thesis, the Swedish word *apelsin*[68] will be used extensively. This word provides a more detailed insight into the origins of the fruit than perhaps the word *orange*, as *apelsin* means 'apple from China'. As the name implies, oranges originate in China. There is general historical consensus on this, which will be discussed in the next section.[69]

### 2.1.2 Origin and Biological Evolution

As with most biological entities, the evolution of the fruit happened over a long period of time, but there are different understandings as to *when* oranges came into existence. While some,

[66] 'Orange', *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2020, accessed 2 December 2020.
[67] C. Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit: A Cultural History of Oranges in Italy*, Toronto Italian Studies. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018, p. 10.
[68] *Apelsin* was adopted from German and Dutch, and seemed to appear in Sweden in the late 1600s. 'Apelsin', *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, 2020, accessed 2 December 2020.
[69] G. A. Wu, et al, 'Genomics of the Origin and Evolution of Citrus', *Nature*, vol. 554, no. 7692 (2018) p. 312.

like American author John McPhee who has been cited by many scholars examining the history of oranges, appoint the origin of citrus to 'probably […] at least twenty million years ago,'[70] others disagree. Scientists Wu et al. traced the genetic material of citrus fruit in 2018 and established that the genetic encoding was first present in a common ancestor eight million years ago in the Yunnan province of China. Wu et al. refers to southeast Asia as the biological crib as plausible due to its climate and its status as a 'biodiversity hotspot.'[71]

Samuel Tolkowsky, renowned citrus scholar, suggests that citrus fruit could have been cultivated commercially in China as early as AD 700.[72] However, as Wu et al. maintain in a study from 2014, there are no records of how and when the domestication of the fruit really started, and thus the understanding of this concept is disputed at best.[73] Scholars of horticulture Herbert John Webber and Leon Dexter Batchelor, whose comprehensive volumes *The Citrus Industry* were published in the 1940s, agree that citrus fruit had been cultivated and developed over centuries in China well before they were introduced to Europe.[74] This information demonstrates the complexity of pinpointing the biological emergence of the fruit, but also shows that oranges can at least be understood to have existed earlier in some parts of the world than others. It is crucial to acknowledge this information because it shows the relative novelty of the industry that emerged in the 1800s.

### 2.1.3 The Differences Between Sweet and Bitter Oranges

While the word 'orange' nowadays brings to mind the sweet fruit that we peel and eat or put in fruit salads, this has not always been the case. Oranges can be divided up in sweet and bitter ones. The simplest description is that sweet oranges, *Citrus* × *Sinensis*, can be eaten either in the original form or pressed to juice, whereas the bitter orange, *Citrus* × *Aurantium*, is too bitter to be consumed in this manner; instead used in seasoning, fragrance, medicine, and marmalade.[75] In fact, it is often referred to as marmalade orange, among its other names sour

[70] J. McPhee, *Oranges*, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1966, p. 58.
[71] Wu, et al, 'Genomics of the Origin and Evolution of Citrus', pp. 312-313. Some scientists suggest an Australasian origin of citrus, but Wu et al. disprove this theory by arguing for the spreading of citrus *from* southeast Asia to Australasia 'probably via transoceanic dispersal'.
[72] S. Tolkowsky, *Hesperides: A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits*, London: John Bale Sons, p. 9.
[73] Wu, et al, 'Sequencing Diverse Mandarin, Pummelo and Orange Genomes Reveals Complex History of Admixture during Citrus Domestication', *Nature Biotechnology*, vol. 32, no. 7 (2014), p. 657.
[74] H. J. Webber and L. D. Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry, Volume 1: History, Botany, and Breeding*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948, p. 1.
[75] M. A. Farag, et al. 'Sweet and Bitter Oranges: An Updated Comparative Review of their Bioactives, Nutrition, Food Quality, Therapeutic Merits and Biowaste Valorization Practices', *Food Chemistry*, vol. 331 (2020), p. 1.

orange, and Seville orange. In Sweden, a bitter orange is still today known by the name *pomerans*, while a sweet orange is referred to as *apelsin*. This thesis is concerned with sweet oranges, and will therefore not discuss the bitter orange industry in-depth, but rather mention it where relevant. It is essential, however, to note the differences between the two, as they are utilised in considerably diverse ways and thus have differing influences on consumption habits. As this chapter will demonstrate, there are different varieties of sweet oranges. The types that will be especially significant for this study include but are not limited to Messina, Valencia, Washington Navel, and Jaffa. Their places of origin and importance for different nations' industries will be detailed in the relevant sections below.

### 2.1.4 The Conditions Required to Cultivate Oranges

Orange trees are sensitive and need specific conditions to thrive and yield fruit. Firstly, they require moist soil, making cultivations close to bodies of water preferrable, where shade from surrounding vegetation contributes to especially sweet fruit.[76] Temperature is important, with Webber and Batchelor arguing that altitude and temporary frosts have vast impacts.[77] Tolkowsky supports this, arguing that a frost is citrus trees' 'deadliest enemy.'[78] Hence, most orange groves are located in areas about 35 degrees above or below the equator.[79] This explains why citriculture is, and historically has been, limited to certain geographical areas. Furthermore, it can assist in explaining shifting orange export and import trends globally; something as trivial as an unexpected frost can explain a reduction in yield.[80] Different varieties of oranges require certain adaptations of these factors, explaining why different types thrive in certain environments and ripen at different times throughout the year. This will be further discussed later in the chapter, but here it suffices to confirm that the sensitivity and diversity of the sweet orange trees is reflected in the citrus industry.

## 2.2 The Transnational Spread of Oranges

In this section I will briefly introduce the contested history of oranges' transnational spread. I will then outline their cultural impact and increased significance throughout the 1800 and 1900s. As confirmed above, citrus developed in southeast Asia before spreading across the

[76] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 51.
[77] *ibid*.p. 40.
[78] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 4.
[79] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 71.
[80] An example of this is provided by Webber and Batchelor, who discuss the frost of the winter 1916 – 1917 which ruined 'thousands of acres of citrus groves' across several states in the US. Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 40.

world and further diversifying. McPhee's perspective of the transcontinental dispersal of oranges from southeast Asia is as follows:

> "The main course of the migration of the fruit – from its origins near the South China Sea, down into the Malay Archipelago, then on four thousand miles of ocean current to the east coast of Africa, across the desert by caravan and into the Mediterranean basin, then over the Atlantic to the American continents – closely and sometimes exactly kept pace with the major journeys of civilisation."[81]

According to Webber and Batchelor, it was the citron (*Citrus medica*) which reached Europe first around 300 BCE, followed by the bitter orange (*Citrus* × *Aurantium*), the lemon (*Citrus* × *limon*), and lastly the sweet orange (*Citrus* × *Sinensis*).[82] Food culture scholar Christina Mazzoni highlights that it is impossible to know whether the word *citron* was used for other citrus fruit earlier in history, meaning that perhaps oranges were present earlier than most accounts suggest. She maintains that the first reliable accounts referring specifically to oranges in Europe can be dated back to the 1200s.[83] Other sources suggest that the sweet orange did not reach Europe until the 1400s.[84]

The records Mazzoni refers to are historical documents about an orange tree[85] gifted to Pope Innocent III by a Spanish priest, later known as Saint Dominic.[86] This can indicate – albeit not certainly – that the orange thus reached the inner European continent via the Iberian Peninsula, which at the time was under Arabic influence. There are several aspects brought up by scholars that contest this notion. Firstly, Mazzoni notes that the bitter orange was probably the first to arrive in Europe, and therefore Saint Dominic's gift most likely was not a sweet orange tree.[87] Tolkowsky argues that sweet oranges might have arrived earlier than the 1500s, but that they were not cultivated to a vast degree until that point. The fundamental reason for this was that

[81] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 6.
[82] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 1.
[83] Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit*, pp. 10-21.
[84] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 1.
[85] While it is presumed that the original tree no longer exists, a tree from its shoots still stands – believed to be the oldest orange tree in Rome, Italy, and still bearing fruit – at the headquarters of the Dominican Order to this day. Monks of the Dominican Order would hand out oranges and leaves from the tree, boasting of its healing powers, tied to its holy origin. Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit*, pp. 25-26.
[86] Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit*, p. 9.
[87] *ibid*., p. 11.

until then, the primary use of oranges (whether they were sweet or bitter) was to extract scent, and to be used as seasoning, and not eaten 'raw' as has become custom in later centuries.[88]

According to McPhee, oranges reached Europe through Portugal in 1635, consequently creating a new consumption demand.[89] This perspective is disputed, as for instance Tolkowsky maintains that if oranges had been unknown to Europeans prior to 1635, it is unlikely that the Portuguese did not acknowledge them during their travels.[90] Webber and Batchelor instead argue that the sweet orange reached Europe via the Genoese trade route through the Middle East.[91] While it can be argued that the name *portugalli*[92] used for sweet oranges can imply that they arrived via Portugal, Tolkowsky instead argues that this name did not appear until the 1600s.[93] Therefore, it is more likely that the Portuguese instead brought back 'a superior variety' from their explorations, which consequently contributed to changing the consumption of oranges in Europe, and eventually Sweden.[94]

What can be inferred from this is that the understanding of how and when oranges reached Europe, and whether these oranges were sweet or bitter, is ambiguous. The important point to extract from this ambiguity is that oranges' position within European culture and consumption is difficult to ascertain, but there seems to be some consensus that they were not cultivated in Europe until at least the 1500s, partly explaining the luxuriousness of the fruit during the following centuries, and consequently why it did not lose its luxury status until the twentieth century. Other explanations include the limited intra-European trade and transport until the 1850s, and that the specific cultivation requirements limited who could grow the fruit, thus limiting the citrus production scale in Europe. This is further discussed in section 3.1.3.

### 2.2.1 The Symbolic Meaning of Oranges in Europe and Sweden

Regardless of how it arrived, the sweet orange started to gain 'commercial importance' in Europe by the early 1500s, after seemingly starting to be cultivated there from the mid-1400s.[95] During this time, they became symbolically important, as for instance can be observed from their presence in Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper* from the 1490s – despite oranges never

[88] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 243.
[89] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 65.
[90] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 248.
[91] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 12.
[92] *ibid*., p. 10. Similar names are still used for sweet oranges in Albanian, Macedonian and other languages.
[93] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 234.
[94] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 14.
[95] *ibid*., p. 10.

making an appearance in the Bible.[96] From this, one can assume that oranges had an elevated status in Europe during da Vinci's time and he thus saw them fit for a grandiose painting. Mazzoni points out that paintings of for instance Saint Nicholas, who was to transform over time into our contemporary Santa Claus, often showed him in company of oranges. She further suggests that oftentimes artworks of Saint Nicholas display him holding three golden spheres, and while they take difference appearances in different iconographies, she argues they in many cases can be convincingly construed as oranges. In her recount of Saint Nicholas' Christmas legend, where he attempts to subtly gift three young women with what was most likely three sacks of gold coins, by tossing them down their chimney, the sacks accidentally land in their stockings which were drying by the fireplace. This legend has contributed to the contemporary tradition of hanging stockings by the fireplace in many Western cultures. According to Mazzoni, while the initial folklores implied that the gifts were sacks of gold coins, once oranges became a luxury item known to Europeans, the legend often exchanged the sacks for oranges. This explains the 'custom of giving oranges to children at Christmas time: oranges are symbols of Saint Nicholas's, or Santa Claus's, gift of wealth.'[97]

While there is little academic attention given to the rise of the Western Christmas tradition of hanging up stockings, some popular culture texts indicate that it arose during the mid-1800s.[98] Considering Mazzoni's contribution above that there was an increase of oranges on the market while still remaining a luxury, one can assume that this made them a desired addition to Christmas stockings, although the tradition itself may have faded over time. This could be due to oranges becoming more and more common.

In terms of Sweden, there seems to be little indication that oranges have played any significant role in its Christmas traditions. As this chapter will showcase, oranges were often in most supply during the European winter months, which can explain why they have manifested themselves in terms of Christmas treats, albeit never becoming a crucial aspect of the holiday. At least in Sweden, it is not uncommon to decorate with oranges covered in carnation seeds. In a short lexicon over Swedish Christmas traditions, it is noted that oranges often were present on a table designated for sweets and treats during the holiday, alongside other things that are

[96] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 74.
[97] Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit*, pp. 112-113.
[98] J. Mansky, 'Why We Should Bring Back the Tradition of the Christmas Orange', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 21 December 2018, accessed 4 March 2021.

'strongly associated' with Christmas, for instance apples, raisins, nuts and dates. The oranges' presence on the treats' table was noted as being due to that 'a few decades ago' they had only been available around Christmas time 'in large parts of the country.'[99] As this text was published in 1971, it gives an indication as to the relative novelty of oranges in the everyday homes of Swedes. Furthermore, the text indicates that by the 1970s, oranges were no longer only sold around Christmas, which could explain why they are nowadays still associated with Christmas, but not symbolically important. In other words, as oranges became more readily available throughout the year, and in larger quantities, they became less associated with being a luxury fruit one could only afford for festivities. Rather, their symbolic value tied to holidays diminished, and today – while available in abundance in grocery stores, specifically around Christmas time – they are associated with the holiday, but do not hold a symbolic importance.

According to Tolkowsky, oranges were reserved for the royalty and nobility in the 1600 and 1700s in Europe, as the fruit manifested itself as a symbol of wealth.[100] The degree of importance of a guest could be deduced by how many oranges the host chose to display.[101] This symbolism resulted in the nobility of Europe establishing *orangeries*. An orangery is a conservatory or green-house often consisting of brick walls and large windows, dedicated to the – often decorative – cultivation of orange trees. It is believed that Charles VIII of France[102] built the very first orangery, after being inspired by Italians' methods of either temporarily, or permanently but partially, covering their orange trees to prevent frost damage. Thus started a trend where all French monarchs were expected, if not obliged, to have grand orangeries.[103] Tolkowsky corroborates this by arguing that every 'self-respecting royal' during these centuries had orangeries.[104] Perhaps the most famous example is King Louis XIV's imposing orangery at Versailles where he hosted numerous gatherings.[105]

Orangeries were also present in Sweden during this time. In his 2007 publication on orangeries in Uppland, the county where Stockholm is situated, J. G. Holmberg notes that the first Swedish orangery probably was established in Stockholm in 1565. Further, they seemed to be larger in

[99] I. Liman, *Julens ABC*, Halmstad: Hallandspostens Boktryckeri AB, 1971, pp. 19-20.
[100] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 313.
[101] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 64.
[102] He lived 1470 – 1498, ruling France from 1483 until his death, which was caused by accidentally hitting his head too hard in a decorative part of a doorframe. K. Markatos et al. 'A Cranial Trauma was the Cause of Death for Charles VIII of France (1470 – 1498), *World Neurosurgery*, vol. 105 (2017), p. 747.
[103] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 77.
[104] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 76.
[105] McPhee, *Oranges*, p. 78.

numbers in this region during the 1700s, as can be deduced from insurance and estate inventory records. Even though there is no clear indication as to when they first arrived in Sweden, it can be implied from previous findings that oranges were available to royalties across Europe since the 1400s – and thus presumably also Swedish royalty – and at least to a portion of nobility by default. The combination of the royal status of oranges, as well as a presumed demand by the top layers of society suggest that oranges were imported to Sweden from at least the Renaissance era, thus warranting the establishment of the first orangery in the mid-1500s. However, it is unclear whether the purpose of the oranges of the Swedish orangeries was for consumption, decoration, both, or neither. Holmberg assumes that the primary fruit grown in said orangeries most likely was bitter oranges, owing to estate inventory records and the use of the name *pomeranshus*; *pomerans* being the Swedish word for bitter orange.[106] Therefore, the usage was most likely either decorative or for seasoning.

## 2.3 The Emergence of the Citrus Industry

The mid-1800s marked a change in orange production and consumption across the globe. Tolkowsky argues that by then, oranges had become available also to the lower middle-class, and by the early 1900s it was 'a fruit of the common people.'[107] This is reiterated by Mazzoni's claim that 'until recently oranges represented a costly commodity.'[108] Tolkowsky attributes the emergence of the commercial cultivation of oranges to the advancements of the steam engine and refrigeration during the 1800s.[109] Refrigeration was one of the most essential developments for the global fruit trade as it facilitated the 'cold chain', namely the ability to keep a product cooled from its place of origin to its destination. Researchers Thomas Lennerfors and Peter Birch wrote in their 2019 publication *Snow in the Tropics: A History of the Independent Reefer Operator* that this enabled global consumption of goods that otherwise spoiled on for instance trans-Atlantic journeys.[110] According to Tolkowsky, this in combination with the steam engine meant that oranges could be transported much faster than previously, and the reduction of travel time ensured a larger quantity of ripe fruit upon arrival, which consequently drove the price of oranges down and increased their shelf life.[111] In turn, these two main factors in collaboration with the evolving railway network across the European continent fell into the hands of the

[106] J. G. Holmberg, *Orangerier: orangerier vid vallonbruk i Uppland.* Stockholm: KTH School of Architecture and the Built Environment, 2007, pp. 26-57.
[107] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 313.
[108] Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit*, p. 113.
[109] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 313.
[110] Lennerfors and Birch, 'Tropics in the Snow: An Introduction', pp. 3-4.
[111] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 313.

orange producers, who seemed to multiply during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Tolkowsky argues that these developments stimulated orange cultivation in certain areas, especially the United States of America, Spain, Italy, Palestine and South Africa.[112]

### 2.3.1 Citrus Producers Beyond the Scope of This Research

As further detailed below, and in chapter three, particularly Spain and Italy held significance with regard to the Swedish orange imports, thus warranting their industries being analysed. Furthermore, the US, Palestine, and South Africa are key players in the global citrus industry for various reasons which will be showcased. Alongside these countries, Brazil and Portugal are discussed to highlight their contribution to the citrus industry. Before these are analysed, there is a brief introduction to countries whose citrus industries were large, but did not contribute to the global market in a way that impacted Sweden.

Naturally, China –being the biological crib of the fruit – had a substantial citrus production. However, as Webber and Batchelor put forward, very little of its production was exported, and the portions that were, went to surrounding Asian countries. They also highlight that 'several other Asiatic countries produce citrus fruits in considerable quantities, but none have developed important export industries.' One example is India, which at that point in time was known for its 'diversity of citrus fruits', but did not engage in export trading. Egypt, which Webber and Batchelor claim have engaged in citrus cultivation for 'approximately thirty-four centuries', did not engage in commercial growing until the 1920s.[113] Even after that, Tolkowsky's statistics show that Egypt contributed very little to the global market.[114] Other nations that cultivated oranges during the timeframe of this thesis include for instance France, Greece, Russia, and Cyprus. However, as Webber and Batchelor note, their cultivations were either small or engaged very little in export trade.[115] With this in mind, it is irrelevant to study these countries' contributions further here as they did not have an impact on Swedish orange consumption patterns around the turn of the twentieth century. Instead, the next sections will outline countries whose industries impacted Swedish orange consumption.

[112] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, pp. 313-314.
[113] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 102-110.
[114] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, pp. 316-319.
[115] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, pp. 98-99.

### 2.3.2 Spain

The Spanish citrus industry is one of the most established, with its first groves solely dedicated to oranges founded already in 1781.[116] After the US, Spain's production was the second largest around the turn of the twentieth century.[117] Until the mid-1800s however, European citrus horticulture had been dominated by small-scale farms, and was therefore surpassed by the North American industry's approaches to standardisation and advertising.[118] However, the diversification and expansion of the international economy in the late 1800s allowed for European agriculture to adapt to altering demands, consequently allowing Spanish farmers to manifest themselves in the global citrus trade, according to scholar James Simpson.[119] In the rest of Europe, there were rarely domestic producers contending with the Spanish cultivation.[120] The Spanish orange industry experienced such rapid growth that historian Samuel Garrido says the fruit constituted as much as between 80-90 % of the nation's total crop export between 1870 – 1960. Furthermore, Spain had cheap labour which subsequently lowered the prices of the fruit it produced. In addition, Garrido notes, the Spanish oranges were often 'as good as the best Californian fruit', thus enhancing its place on the European fruit market.[121] It is however not clarified here whether Garrido is referring to the sweet oranges that had already been cultivated in Europe to some degree since a few centuries, or the varieties introduced from the US in the 1900s, as discussed in section 2.3.5.

One of the reasons for the prosperous exports could, according to Simpson, be that oranges were income elastic.[122] In other words, that it was a commodity purchased when one's income increased, thus the growing purchasing power of Europeans contributed to heightened orange consumption. According to Webber and Batchelor, the 'bulk of the moderately priced oranges for the large consuming markets of Europe' were produced in Spain.[123] Considering this, it seems likely that large portions of Sweden's imports originate there, despite the difficulty of tracing it further. When orange consumption rose in Europe, Spain benefitted greatly. The United Kingdom, in particular, imported significant quantities, namely 41 % of global

[116] S. Garrido, 'Oranges or 'Lemons'? Family Farming and Product Quality in the Spanish Orange Industry, 1870-1960', Agricultural History, vol. 84, no. 2 (2010), p. 227.
[117] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 93.
[118] Garrido, 'Oranges or 'Lemons'?', pp. 224-225.
[119] J. Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture: The Long Siesta, 1765-1965*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 203.
[120] Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture*, p. 203.
[121] Garrido, 'Oranges or 'Lemons'?', pp. 227-232.
[122] Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture*, pp. 218-219.
[123] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 96.

production between 1922 – 1926, and Garrido notes that 82.3 % of their imports came from Spain.[124] As chapter three will show, Sweden in turn imported vast amounts of its oranges from the UK. One can thus assume that much of the Swedish imports would originate in Spain, although this is not documented. Webber and Batchelor highlight that in the year of 1922, Spain had nearly 15 million orange trees, and its production kept rising remarkably over the next years which demonstrates the breadth of their production, and their importance on the global market.[125] However, it is important to note that what sets Spain apart from other producers is its substantial yield of bitter oranges which are suitable for marmalade. Webber and Batchelor say that the UK imported massive quantities of said oranges.[126] Thus it is possible that Garrido's finding that the UK imported 41 % of the world's orange production could be referring both to sweet and bitter oranges, and it is difficult to distinguish further details about it.

Simpson also highlights that Spain's orange exports peaked in 1930.[127] This, alongside Spain's position as a major contributor to the global orange trade, can explain why Sweden's orange imports boomed around this point in time. Furthermore, the continuation of high orange imports in the 1930s – albeit outside the scope of the present research – can be explained by Simpson's note that the Great Depression left Spain's orange production 'unaffected.'[128]

### 2.3.3 Italy

Italy was another fundamental producer of oranges, which according to Webber and Batchelor was one of the largest in the world during the turn of the twentieth century.[129] This is corroborated by economic historian Vera Zamagni who in her comprehensive work *The Economic History of Italy, 1860 – 1990* writes that the country, which in the second half of the 1800s was in the process of unifying, implemented a range of liberal trade policies unlike those of most other European countries. Zamagni outlines that the reasons for said policies were partly to gain an uninhibited position within global trade and export, for financial purposes.[130] While the decades around the turn of the twentieth century constituted industrialisation and ensuing export expansion, Italy failed to retain the speed of other European nations' expansions

[124] Garrido, 'Oranges or 'Lemons'?', p. 226.
[125] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 93.
[126] *ibid*., p. 96.
[127] Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture*, p. 218.
[128] *ibid*.
[129] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 96.
[130] V. Zamagni, *The Economic History of Italy, 1860 – 1990*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 110.

at the time and therefore obtained a relatively weak position within international trade. Despite this, its citrus industry experienced an upswing, and one of the nations which imported large quantities was Germany.[131] As chapter three will showcase, one of the main countries listed as orange exporter to Sweden was Germany, and thus one can assume that at least some of that fruit is likely to have originated in Italy.

In terms of its production, the Italian industry tended to favour the Calabrian which according to Webber and Batchelor is 'a late-maturing variety similar to the Valencia of America.' One of the most vital regions of production for citrus was Sicily, just across the water from the Calabria region.[132] This is corroborated by the findings in chapter four, as many adverts detail the arrival of 'Messina oranges' – Messina being an area on Sicily.

### 2.3.4 Palestine

Palestine[133] was a significant citrus exporter around the turn of the twentieth century, a position which strengthened over time – for instance exemplified by Tolkowsky listing Palestine third after Spain and Italy in orange and mandarin production in 1930.[134] Historian Nahum Karlinsky writes that Palestine saw an increase in citrus groves from the mid-1800s, alongside steady export to European markets. By the 1880s, Palestine had a well-established citrus industry which kept expanding as the use of steamships emerged.[135] Webber and Batchelor note that the climate of Palestine was similar to that of California, where 'even slight frosts are rare', making it ideal for citrus cultivation.[136] Karlinsky maintains that the British conquering in 1917 accelerated modernisation.[137] Corroborating this, Webber and Batchelor add that Palestinian citriculture saw a considerable upswing after the First World War.[138]

The significant presence of Palestine on the orange market could be partially attributed to its unique cultivation methods. According to Webber and Batchelor, Palestinian citrus farmers were known for planting trees closer together than was custom in other countries, consequently

[131] Zamagni, *The Economic History of Italy*, pp. 117-123.
[132] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, pp. 96-97.
[133] For the majority of this thesis' timeframe, Palestine was either a part of the Ottoman Empire or, after 1917, a British mandate. For the purpose of this section, it is viewed as its own entity, as secondary literature often separates it from the Empire when discussing its contribution to the global citrus market.
[134] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, pp. 318-319.
[135] N. Karlinsky, 'California Dreaming: Adapting the "California Model" to the Jewish Citrus Industry in Palestine, 1917-1939', *Israel Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2000), p. 26.
[136] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 105.
[137] Karlinsky, 'California Dreaming', p. 29.
[138] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 104.

increasing the yield per acre. Another factor which sets Palestine's citriculture apart from that of other countries was which varieties it chose to cultivate. While most other countries were cultivating Valencia oranges, at least after the turn of the century when they arrived in Europe, Palestine had its own variety known as Shamouti, Chamoudi, or more commonly on the European market: the Jaffa orange.[139] Chapter four will develop further on the influence of this variety on the Swedish market. Jaffas are primarily exported between November and April, which demonstrate why they tended to be advertised on the Swedish market around Christmas.

### 2.3.5 The United States of America

The US played a significant role in the global citrus industry even though, as Webber and Batchelor point out, its citrus yield was mainly consumed domestically.[140] Garrido points out that as much as 90 % of the US production was distributed within national borders, while a significant portion of the remaining 10 % was primarily exported to Canada. Despite this, a small amount of oranges were exported to Europe, and Garrido notes that this had a negative impact on European citrus farmers as their industry at this point in time was less developed than the American. Europe's American counterpart was known for effective standardisations and particularly aggressive advertising, which European markets were yet to adapt to.[141]

Another reason for the US' importance is that two of the most widely appreciated and consumed varieties of sweet oranges originate or were improved in the US, namely the Valencia[142] and Washington Navel[143] oranges. Webber and Batchelor refer to these varieties as 'superior' to other types.[144] They have since become some of the most widely cultivated oranges in the world, partly due to that they remain ripe on the tree for a very long time, and thus extend the season for citrus exporters. Furthermore, the two varieties overlap each other in when they first ripen, enabling almost all-year distribution.[145] Therefore, despite that the US' orange export was marginal and not likely to have impacted Sweden's orange consumption *directly*, its indirect impacts are crucial. As mentioned, the Swedish import statistics do not

[139] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 105.
[140] *ibid*., p. 73.
[141] Garrido, 'Oranges or 'Lemons'?', pp. 224-227.
[142] The Valencia orange was developed by William Wolfskill in the first half of the 1800s in California, who initially was ridiculed for establishing the first orchard designated solely to commercial orange cultivation, but later made large profits. Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 34.
[143] The Washington Navels were propagated from the Brazilian Bahia Navel variety, of which twelve examples were planted in Washington in the 1870s, and when its seedlings were distributed to and developed in California, they became known as Washington Navels. Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 264.
[144] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 1.
[145] *ibid*, pp. 501-502.

provide detailed accounts of the origin of imported goods, so it is difficult to discern whether oranges were in fact indirectly imported from the US. However, it is important to note Webber and Batchelor's finding that Navel cultivation was not introduced to Europe until the early 1900s.[146] They do not mention when the Valencia variety reached Europe.

### 2.3.6 Portugal

Unlike other orange producing countries, little research literature is dedicated to providing insights regarding Portugal's industry and exports. Despite that the country historically has been assumed, albeit without reliable evidence, to have introduced the orange to Europe, their export seems to have been relatively low. Economic historians Nuno Palma and Jaime Reis argue that while Portugal had been a strong economic power throughout the late Middle Ages, they fell behind other Western economies from the mid-1800s as their economic growth slowed down while the population kept increasing, resulting in 'one of the most backward economies in Europe.'[147] The strained national finances can help explain why the Portuguese citrus industry did not expand to the same degree as that of other nations in the Mediterranean basin.

According to Webber and Batchelor, the data for Portugal is somewhat complicated to interpret. They exemplify this by comparing statistics presented by both Great Britain's Empire Marketing Board in 1929, and Brazilian-born and Portuguese-educated agronomist Navarro de Andrade's findings in 1933. The comparison implies that Portugal's citrus industry did indeed expand around the turn of the twentieth century.[148] According to Webber and Batchelor's citation of de Andrade, Portugal's largest export of oranges was in 1922 when over 28,000 boxes[149] were exported.[150] However, Tolkowsky does not include Portugal in his statistics and overview of key citrus exporting countries in the 1930s, so it can be assumed that Portugal played a very marginal role on the global citrus market and is thus relatively irrelevant to the Swedish context.[151]

[146] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 95.
[147] N. Palma and J. Reis, 'From Convergence to Divergence: Portuguese Economic Growth, 1527-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 79, no. 2 (2019), p. 478.
[148] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 99.
[149] There is no discussion with regard to how much '28,000 boxes' constituted.
[150] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 99.
[151] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, pp. 316-322.

### 2.3.7 Brazil

Brazil is perhaps one of the largest orange producers both presently and historically, with regions like São Paulo and Rio de Jainero dominating the production.[152] However, Webber and Batchelor wrote in the 1940s that 'recently' extensive exports had been made to the UK, but prior to this the produce was primarily consumed locally.[153] Thus Brazil cannot be estimated to have held any significant position with regard to Swedish orange consumption for the majority of this thesis' timeframe. However, one of Brazil's major contributions was the Bahia Navel orange, which then transformed into the Washington Navel.[154]

### 2.3.8 South Africa

In contrary to Portugal, the South African citrus industry warranted a mention in Tolkowsky's statistics, where he maintained that in the year 1930 they exported approximately 56,000 tonnes of oranges and mandarins. In comparison, Spain exported more than one million tonnes the same year, showing that South Africa's contribution to the global orange market was much less significant.[155] In accordance with this, an article from 1920 describes the South African citrus industry as having been relatively small prior to larger settlements of 'white population', when it was uncovered that exporting oranges to Europe could be financially beneficial. The South African produce started being exported in 1907, and was unique in that it could supply the European markets during the downtime of the local producers, i.e. the European summer. This was particularly with regard to sweet oranges, as South Africa saw no financial incentive to invest in the bitter orange industry which was heavily dominated by Spain.[156] However, as Webber and Batchelor point out, the Valencia variety which was one of the primary varieties grown in South Africa reaches its prime in September, and thus it would compete against the much more established Spanish crop. This, in combination with the fact that citrus had very limited appeal on the domestic South African market, could assist in explaining why its industry did not grow as extensively as its European equivalents.[157]

## 2.4 Conclusion

From the data presented above it is clear that having the largest citrus production did not necessarily warrant a significant place on the global market. Countries like China, Brazil, and

[152] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, p. 88.
[153] *ibid*, p. 90.
[154] Tolkowsky, *Hesperides*, p. 264.
[155] *ibid*, pp. 318-319.
[156] 'The South African Fruit Industry', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 68, no. 3531 (1920), p. 579.
[157] Webber and Batchelor, *The Citrus Industry*, pp. 103-109.

the United States were all massive producers of oranges and other citrus fruits over the course of this thesis' timeframe, but their exports were relatively insignificant. Instead, Spain, Italy and Palestine seemed to have held the principal influence over the European market. This is important because it gives an insight as to where Sweden was accessing the majority of its imports from, even though the statistics themselves do not give this information – as will be further discussed in the next chapter. While it is not the ambition of this thesis to examine exactly from which countries the oranges imported to Sweden originated, it is important to have an approximate understanding as fluctuations in trade observed in the next chapters may be at least partially explained by domestic issues (for instance economic crises, abnormal weather, and other factors disrupting trade) in the citrus producing nations.

This section has discussed the emergence of the global citrus industry in the mid-1800s and outlined some reasons for citrus cultivation, trade, and consumption was stimulated. Insights have been provided as to which countries held important positions within the global citrus trade, and therefore were expected to have an impact on the Swedish orange consumption.

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of determining the 'facts' surrounding the sweet orange's journey into Swedish cuisine. It has also shown how the fruit has been perceived in European culture throughout the last centuries, in order to help explain its position as a luxury item initially reserved for royalty and upper class, and how it made its way into Christmas traditions across Western cultures. Furthermore, the emergence of the citrus industry from the 1850s and onwards has been discussed, explaining the environmental and economic conditions that allowed citrus groves to be cultivated around the Mediterranean basin on a commercial scale. The conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter is that oranges hold a lengthy history of being a luxury item, which in the European context started with bitter oranges that were consumed in the sense that they were used decoratively, in fragrance, and as seasoning. In the last few centuries, the arrival of the sweet orange in Europe altered the method of consumption, as the fruit was sweet enough to be eaten 'raw'. As such, it became a luxurious, income elastic treat. This chapter has shown that Spain was most likely the primary producer of the sweet oranges imported to Sweden, while Italy was most likely a contender for the second place. The varieties that were mostly cultivated, at least as of the early 1900s, were the Valencia and Washington Navels, although the secondary literature has shown that it is difficult to trace exactly which varieties were prominent where. These are all important notions to consider as a backdrop for the analyses that follow in the next two chapters.

# 3. Peeling Back the Layers of Orange Imports to Sweden, 1865 – 1930

## 3.1 Conceptual Considerations

### 3.1.1 Research Questions

This chapter discusses the economic aspects of national orange consumption in Sweden around the turn of the twentieth century. It analyses import statistics using theoretical approaches of economic history. The statistics are complemented with source material concerning, but not limited to, tariffs, parliamentary decisions, and price indications on oranges gathered from newspaper sources between 1865 – 1930. This chapter provides a broad economic overview of Sweden, analysing oranges in the Swedish economy from a macro perspective, while chapter four emphasises how oranges were portrayed in Stockholm-based *Dagens Nyheter*. This chapter outlines the orange imports to Sweden and analyses the observable shifts, while using source material such as secondary literature on European and Swedish economic history, parliamentary records and tariff debates to contextualise the findings.

The research question for this chapter is as follows:

*How did orange imports change between 1865 – 1930, and what does it imply about changing consumption patterns in Sweden?*

The following sub-question will supplement the analysis:

*How can these findings be used to expand the current understanding of the demarcations of the first wave of globalisation in Sweden?*

The first question uses the economic analysis of the import statistics to examine what conclusions can be drawn regarding how national consumption changed. This chapter will show that national imports of oranges increased steadily, with a few disruptions, with a total increase from 1865 to 1930 of 26,205,397 kilograms. This entails an average annual increase of around 403,160 kilograms. The analysis shows that oranges transitioned from being a rarity

to becoming steadily more imported, most likely from the early 1910s but particularly so after the First World War and continuously throughout the 1920s.

The second question uses the findings to suggest that the concept that trade and international connectedness was reduced in the interwar years is not mirrored by the orange imports, which can suggest that similar patterns can be visible in other import and export goods as well. In other words, the findings of this chapter suggest that Williamson's theory of decreased connectedness between the waves of globalisation can be contested, and give support to the notion that it is problematic to assign agency and causality to large, economic 'movements' to individual countries' economies.

### 3.1.2 Explanation of Statistical Documents

The BiSOS collection contains all Swedish statistics between 1851 – 1917, divided into several subsections. Each subsection handles different aspects of domestic statistics; like population and railway data. Each subsection handles a certain time period, meaning that not all sections contain information about the entire period of 1851 – 1917. BiSOS F was dedicated to detailing the statistics of Sweden's import, export and shipping industry between 1858 – 1910. Between the years of these years, the F reports were issued on an annual basis, where the issue published in 1898 detailed the imports, exports and shipping details of 1897. The reports varied in size, with some ranging from around 200 pages, and others closer to 400, and featured a myriad of details. The discontinuation of the BiSOS reports in the 1910s prompted the replacement by SOS. The information which was previously split between different BiSOS reports was redistributed into new categories in a singular report.

Information about imports did not receive a new category until 1914, when the first 'yearbooks' were published. The gap in the publication of import statistics between 1910 and 1914 was remedied in the first yearbooks, as they employed a different structure than the BiSOS reports. Unlike the BiSOS collection, the yearbooks contained all the different branches' statistics, organised in one publication usually consisting of around 400 pages. As an individual BiSOS subsection report could contain equally as many pages, it is evident that the information in the yearbooks had been heavily reduced and comprised. Oranges were one of the goods that retained a place in the statistics, perhaps showing its importance to Swedish imports, up until 1947.[158] The yearbooks were published up until 2014, but unlike the BiSOS reports, and in

[158] There is a gap in the statistics for most trade between 1940 – 1943, due to the Second World War.

contradiction to what their name may suggest, each publication did *not* handle a specific year. In fact, the import statistics for oranges for 1911, 1912 and 1913 were published for the first time in the 1915 yearbook. This irregular structure can be source for confusion, as for instance the 1919 yearbook contains no information about the orange imports neither in 1919 nor 1918. Hence, the BiSOS F reports are as large as some of the yearbooks, but are easier to navigate. In summary, the statistics compiled in this chapter are gathered from BiSOS F reports from 1865 – 1910, and SOS yearbooks from 1914 – 1933.[159]

One aspect which has influenced the decision to make chapter three an analysis of Swedish import of oranges, while the next chapter details how oranges were portrayed in Stockholm media, is that there have been ambivalent records in terms of where in Sweden the oranges were imported to. While Stockholm is the capital of Sweden, Gothenburg has the largest harbour, thus receiving sometimes equally as large, and sometimes larger, quantities of imported goods as Stockholm, despite having a smaller population. However, the BiSOS F only detailed to which harbours certain goods, including oranges, arrived between 1871 and until the discontinuation of the reports in 1910. Furthermore, during that period, there were no indications as to how the oranges were distributed post-arrival. Presumably, the size reduction of the SOS reports as opposed to the BiSOS reports rendered the harbour statistics either superfluous or too large to include. This means that there are only about 40 years of records regarding where the national orange imports were primarily imported to. Thus there is no paper trail to follow to discern in more detail where oranges potentially were consumed across Sweden during this time. In other words, it is seemingly impossible to distinguish whether oranges were consumed only in the larger cities, or dispersed and reaching a wider population, even though the latter is more likely. An assumption is thus that the larger imports to the cities were then sold to merchants who distributed them further, but there are no records in the statistics to clarify this.

[159] The BiSOS F reports and SOS yearbooks recorded the orange import in both pounds and kilograms. In order to compile all the data for comparison, I have altered the way the data is presented, to make it more digestible. Until the year 1881, the statistics were recorded in *skålpund*, which is around 0,425 kilograms. I have recalculated the data between 1865-1881, using the following formula, where X represents the original value in *skålpund*, and Y represents the value in kilograms.

$$X \times 0{,}425 = Y$$

All numbers have been rounded up to the closest whole number, removing all decimals. As this study is not preoccupied with the exact number of kilograms of oranges that were imported, but rather larger, observable trends, the recalculation and removal of decimals have no perceivable negative impact on the findings.

What can be observed is that the larger cities like Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö received the largest quantities by far. This shows a noteworthy disparity between Swedish cities. Interestingly, Stockholm did not always receive the largest quantities despite having the biggest population. In 1905 for instance, Gothenburg imported nearly 1,896,000 kilograms while Stockholm attained approximately 1,710,000. While it cannot be confidently argued that the oranges remained in the cities they were imported to, the considerable sizes of imports to these places as opposed to smaller cities and towns indicate that the story of oranges in Swedish consumption patterns is predominantly urban. Due to the lack of records before 1871 and after 1910 regarding which ports oranges arrived to, it proves most useful to have this focus on a general Swedish analysis, and chapter four on Stockholm.

These issues highlight the complexity of analysing statistics, and the importance of remaining wary of their limitations. The findings that are presented in this chapter are produced with the awareness that the statistics cannot be viewed as the absolute truth, albeit a strong indication. There is no evidence in the reports and yearbooks as to how the statistics were gathered, how the oranges were weighed, how accurate the recorded data is, and so forth. I have thus refrained from focusing on the exact amount of oranges that arrived in Sweden, and rather use the data as a pointer toward general trade fluctuations. This, in combination with the above-mentioned issues relating to tracing the journey of oranges post-arrival, is another problem which poses complications for the research. This thesis does not aim to distinguish exactly how many oranges arrived in Stockholm, or how many oranges were consumed there, because the statistics simply does not allow that type of investigation. Instead, the findings of chapters three and four will be based on an in-depth analysis of the Swedish context, the combination of the source material, and carefully weighed considerations of the different aspects.

### 3.1.3 The European Fruit Trade

There is remarkably little research literature devoted to examining the history of the European fruit trade. In fact, historian Michael B. Miller argues that there is little research into intra-European trade in general, and how goods were circulated across the continent.[160] The lack of research into trade connections, and particularly those concerning fruit, problematises the task of providing an overview of European fruit trade. However, the primary ambition of this thesis is not to offer in-depth details regarding what the European fruit trade looked like, and therefore

[160] M. B. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth Century History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 1.

the information provided below is an overview rather than an exhaustive explanation. This section will provide a brief introduction as to what the European trade looked like between 1865 – 1930, and from this information discuss how that may have translated to the processes of fruit trade with which Sweden engaged.

Commercial trade changed significantly from the mid-1800s as industrialisation engulfed a plethora of nations, living standards increased exponentially, and steamships shortened the shipping times substantially. The trade chain of commercial goods is immensely more complicated than production site, ship, destination; there are trading companies, trading houses, merchants, shipping companies, storage locations, customs officers, dock workers, and so forth. For the purpose of this section, only the overall structures of fruit trade in Europe will be discussed. The first aspect which is vital to understand, is that a significant portion of Europe's consumer goods (whether oranges or automobiles) were transported using ships, and the emergence of steamships altered the European consumer market substantially.[161]

In commercial trade, ports were crucial elements, acting as 'switchboards of global connectivity.'[162] In the wider European context, these constitute places like Hamburg, London, and Marseille. Some of the most important Swedish ports were Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. While there is little evidence as to what European trade looked like during the 1800s, the lack of an integrated railway system across the continent for most of the century means that the majority of commercial trade was done using ships. The oranges that were imported to Sweden therefore also arrived via ships, and, as this chapter will detail, arrived in particularly large amounts at the three harbours mentioned above.

A factor contributing to the difficulty of discussing and analysing fruit trade in Europe is highlighted in a journal article from 1899 by statistician Isidor Flodström. He maintains that trade had diverted from consisting of direct links between exporter and importer, to encompass redistribution sites as of the late 1800s. Consequently, importers no longer needed to access goods directly from the producer, but could instead 'refill' their stocks at the redistribution sites across Europe.[163] The article further highlights that the nature of trading via redistribution sites entails a disruption in trade documentation; the presence of intermediaries who handle,

[161] Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*, pp. 69-70.
[162] *ibid*, p. 31.
[163] I. Flodström, 'Till frågan om vår utrikes handel och sjöfart', *Ekonomisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 1 (1899), p. 108.

transport, and stock goods that are then transported to their final destination eradicates the direct trace of where goods are originally coming from. This explains why it is so complicated to research the European trade and its direct links.

The limited direct trade will be further detailed in this chapter, particularly in relation to the fact that most oranges that were imported to Sweden were labelled as coming from Germany, the United Kingdom, and Denmark, according to the import statistics. Naturally, neither of these countries were domestic producers of oranges, which again confirms the prevalence of redistribution sites, and the extent to which Swedish trade depended on them. In an article from 1917, economist Knut Wicksell argues that oranges were 'unusually cheap' in the UK. He attributes this to coal ships that went from the UK to the Mediterranean and brought fruit with them on the way back, thus making fruit shipping a by-product of coal export. By not engaging in shipping solely dedicated to fruit trade, the costs of the fruit trade were lowered, which explains the cheap pricing of oranges in the UK.[164] When seen in the light of Flodström's article, this suggests that Sweden rarely engaged in direct fruit trading with Mediterranean citrus producers as it was cheaper to purchase oranges from the redistribution sites in for instance London, Liverpool, Copenhagen, Lübeck, and Hamburg.

[164] K. Wicksell, 'Varupris och fraktsatser', *Ekonomisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 19, no. 7 (1917), p. 282.

## 3.2 Analysis

### 3.2.1 Visual Representations of Swedish Orange Imports 1865 – 1930

Below is a table comprising the number of kilograms of oranges imported to Sweden each year between 1865 – 1930.

| Year | Kilograms of Oranges Imported to Sweden | Year | Kilograms of Oranges Imported to Sweden |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1865 | 225,036 | 1898 | 1,771,098 |
| 1866 | 197,308 | 1899 | 2,801,744 |
| 1867 | 137,212 | 1900 | 2,833,290 |
| 1868 | 156,059 | 1901 | 3,013,193 |
| 1869 | 103,457 | 1902 | 3,546,728 |
| 1870 | 141,670 | 1903 | 3,740,274 |
| 1871 | 174,964 | 1904 | 4,158,233 |
| 1872 | 158,578 | 1905 | 4,653,551 |
| 1873 | 186,541 | 1906 | 5,093,286 |
| 1874 | 220,191 | 1907 | 5,020,681 |
| 1875 | 254,959 | 1908 | 5,310,350 |
| 1876 | 260,479 | 1909 | 5,100,180 |
| 1877 | 312,136 | 1910 | 5,403,844 |
| 1878 | 269,282 | 1911 | 5,523,901 |
| 1879 | 253,836 | 1912 | 5,892,138 |
| 1880 | 283,114 | 1913 | 6,252,331 |
| 1881 | 328,252 | 1914 | 5,451,756 |
| 1882 | 359,349 | 1915 | 5,232,810 |
| 1883 | 401,817 | 1916 | 4,616,825 |
| 1884 | 534,578 | 1917 | 2,982,979 |
| 1885 | 602,256 | 1918 | 1,788 |
| 1886 | 598,011 | 1919 | 11,566,183 |
| 1887 | 652,123 | 1920 | 8,404,106 |
| 1888 | 671,786 | 1921 | 12,426,573 |
| 1889 | 731,575 | 1922 | 8,804,079 |
| 1890 | 876,197 | 1923 | 8,755,341 |
| 1891 | 762,423 | 1924 | 8,178,037 |
| 1892 | 958,546 | 1925 | 9,389,674 |
| 1893 | 821,825 | 1926 | 11,323,052 |
| 1894 | 1,165,075 | 1927 | 12,734,211 |
| 1895 | 1,332,540 | 1928 | 14,101,743 |
| 1896 | 1,486,183 | 1929 | 15,564,110 |
| 1897 | 1,796,087 | 1930 | 26,430,433 |

TABLE 3.1

To visualise the numbers presented in TABLE 3.1, a selection of the data has been recalculated to demonstrate the ratio between number of oranges imported and number of Swedes, at an increment of five years, as visible in TABLE 3.2.

| Year | Swedish Population | Number of Imported Kilograms of Oranges to Sweden | Individual Oranges* | Oranges Per Citizen Per Year |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1865 | 4,114,141 | 225,036 | 2,025,324 | 0,49 |
| 1875 | 4,383,291 | 254,959 | 2,294,631 | 0,52 |
| 1885 | 4,682,769 | 602,256 | 5,420,304 | 1,16 |
| 1895 | 4,919,260 | 1,332,540 | 11,992,860 | 2,44 |
| 1905 | 5,294,885 | 4,653,551 | 41,881,959 | 7,91 |
| 1915 | 5,712,740 | 5,232,810 | 47,095,290 | 8,24 |
| 1925 | 6,053,562 | 9,389,674 | 84,507,066 | 13,96 |
| 1935 | 6,250,506 | 34,998,329 | 314,984,961 | 50,39 |

TABLE 3.2 *Calculation based on the notion that one kilogram of oranges was approximately eight to nine fruits.[165]

TABLE 3.2 clearly demonstrates how the national import of oranges grew substantially between 1865 – 1930. Despite that this thesis finds that oranges were not evenly distributed across all socio-economic groups in Swedish society, the calculation of average number of oranges per citizen is useful as a backdrop to the analysis as it shows a remarkable increase overtime. There are few records that detail what oranges weighed around the turn of the twentieth century, and therefore the above calculations are based on only one source saying that one kilogram represented eight to nine oranges.[166] Consequently, the recalculated data in the tables of this chapter are based loosely on this one source, and should not be viewed as an exact and reliable marker for how many individual oranges were imported to Sweden. Nor is that the ambition of this thesis. Nevertheless, the general calculations display clear trends that cannot be dismissed on the basis of the exact number of oranges being slightly questionable.

The data is also visible below in FIGURE 3.1, which showcases the fluctuations and statistical outliers between 1865 – 1930. With the exception of the First World War in 1914 – 1918, the graph displays small variations but overall a steady increase. The data is displayed in tonnes for easier access.

[165] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Angående förhöjning af tullen på åtskilliga lyx- och öfverflödsartiklar samt ändring i tulltaxans uppställning m. m.*, motion 1885:18, Stockholm 1880, p. 8.
[166] *ibid.*

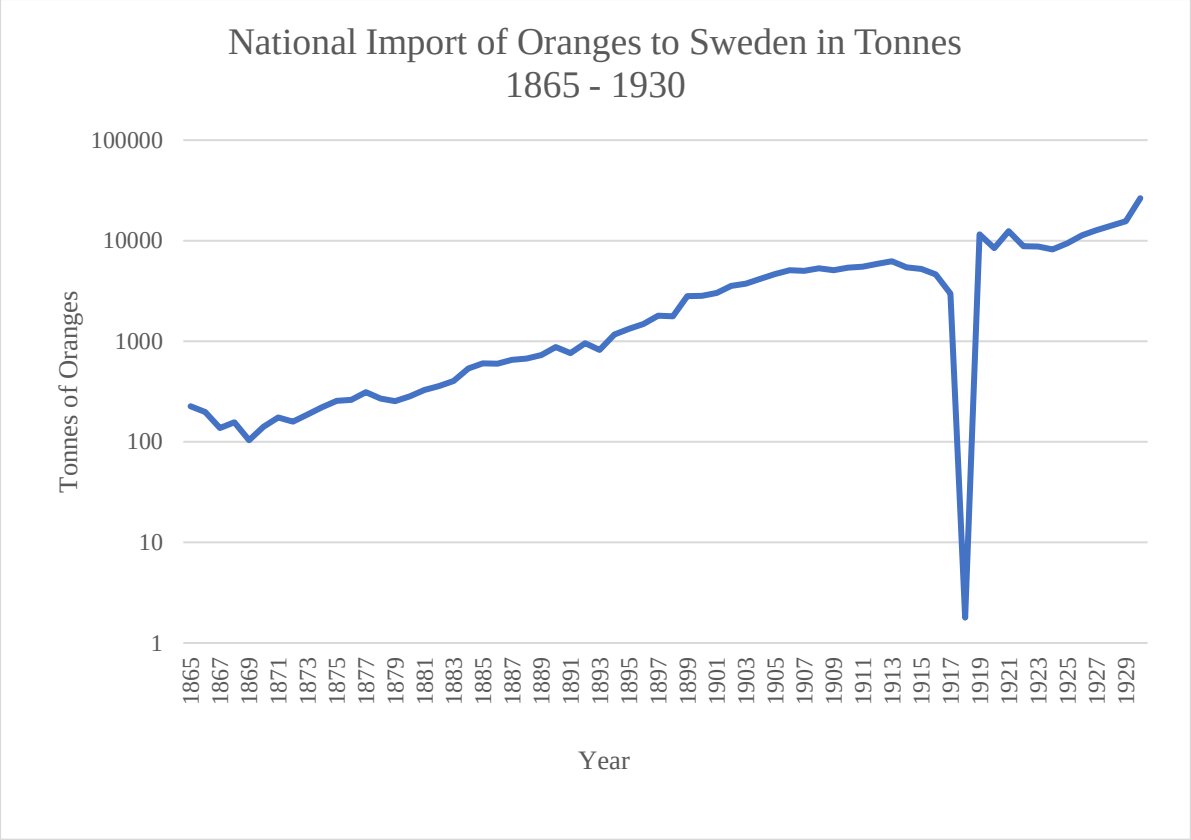


FIGURE 3.1 Logarithmic base 10.

### 3.2.2 Economic Growth and Free Trade

1865 is a statistical outlier as compared to the years immediately following it, as can be observed in TABLE 3.1 and FIGURE 3.1. That year there were approximately 225 tonnes of oranges imported to Sweden. In 1866, there was a drop to around 197 tonnes. This decreasing trend continued steadily until 1869 when there were only about 103 tonnes imported. That number is, apart from the record low statistics from 1918, the lowest import recorded throughout the entire timeframe of the thesis. The reason for this low import could be attributed to the financial crisis experienced at the time, ultimately impacting the orange trade. However, economic historian Arthur Montgomery noted in his 1921 work *Svensk Tullpolitik 1816 – 1911*[167] that particularly the period 1867 – 1870 constituted a time of economic calmness and low taxes in Sweden.[168] This was preceded by what historian Rolf Hobson refers to as the grand period of globalisation, namely the 1850 – 1870s, which saw increased liberal policies in terms of transnational interactions.[169] Swedish economic historian Lars Magnusson agrees with this

[167] Translation: Swedish Toll Politics 1816 – 1911.
[168] A. Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik 1816 – 1911*, Stockholm 1921, p. 113.
[169] Hobson, 'Etter liberalismen kommer nasjonalismen', p. 3.

perspective, highlighting that the 1860s were influenced by extensive liberal thinking in Sweden, marked by the removal of previous restrictive trade policies as well as the introduction of the Free Trade Treaty in 1865.[170] While these sources therefore imply that the economic context were preferable for increased orange trade, Schön maintains that the 1860s were a time of 'many struggles' for the Swedish economy.[171] This can explain why the late 1860s exhibited such low imports.

Another explanation could be that the mid-1860s saw a 'larger' import of oranges, but they simply did not create a considerable enough demand to warrant continued high imports at that time. Perhaps the novelty of the fruit meant it could not manifest itself as a desirable good, and thus the import decreased the following years until it became attractive enough to import larger quantities. Chapter two did not demonstrate any remarkable downturns in the global citrus trade during this time period, therefore suggesting that the two above-mentioned explanations are the primary reasons for the instable trade patterns.

The year 1870 marks an increase which continued over the next few years, perhaps explained by what Schön argues was a European stability.[172] Historian Iván Berend maintains that this stability could be assigned to the introduction of the gold standard in many European nations by the European Monetary Congress in 1867. It made transnational trading easier by removing the previous obstacle of inconvertible currencies.[173] Schön notes that Sweden adopted the gold standard in 1873, which resulted in growing free trade across Europe and facilitating flexibility 'commodity, labour and capital' both within and across Swedish borders.[174] This could explain why the orange imports rose in the following decade, as the economic stability and enhanced interconnectedness favoured trade.

### 3.2.3 Economic Crisis and a Shift Toward Protectionism

Berend highlights that there was resignation toward unhampered trade, spurred on by the economic crisis experienced in the global north in the 1870s, resulting in scepticism toward open trade.[175] The crisis has been described as the first Great Depression, and it had widespread

[170] Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden*, p. 77.
[171] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 114.
[172] *ibid.*, p. 12.
[173] Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 12.
[174] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 93.
[175] Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 40.

effects on many countries across Europe, as well as North America.[176] However, Sweden – which was benefitting greatly from the first wave of globalisation and experiencing a far greater economic growth than much of Europe[177] – managed the economic crisis well and seemed rather unimpacted by it, according to Montgomery.[178] Williamson supports this by arguing that Scandinavia 'underwent a spectacular catch-up' to other global north economies.[179] Yet, the crisis amplified focus on protectionism in a plethora of European nations.[180] Economic historian Eli F. Heckscher notes that the 1870s were symptomatic of intensive tariff discussions also in Sweden, as several members of the parliament as well as the public were opposed to the idea of free trade.[181] For instance, a motion from 1875, signed by protectionist politician Axel Odelberg, reiterates this concept by arguing that tariffs needed to be raised on a multitude of goods in order to counteract the 'stampeding' consumption growth across all Swedish social classes.[182] Schön corroborates this by suggesting that domestic luxury commodity production increased in Sweden during the late 1800s.[183] This suggests an incline in luxury consumption in general, most likely translating to oranges too. The motion demonstrates that while the Swedish economy was doing well in comparison to other countries impacted by the crisis, and the general standard of living was increasing, there were still calls for more protectionist policies. Arguably, oranges were included in the category of excessive consumption which Odelberg hints at in his motion.

From 1877 and onwards, there were more signs of protectionism in Sweden, which can assist in explaining the decreasing numbers of imported oranges observed in the years 1878 and 1879.[184] However, these numbers are relatively close to those recorded just before 1877, so one can argue that the restrictions Montgomery highlights, which Hobson noted were a trend across Europe, seemed to have little impact on oranges. It can thus be said that despite increased protectionism, the position of oranges in Sweden's economy, and consequently consumption patterns, remained relatively stable. Other countries fared worse, and for instance Spain

[176] Berend, *An Economic History of the Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 45.
[177] *ibid*, pp. 28-30.
[178] Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik*, p. 116.
[179] Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History', p. 277.
[180] Hobson, 'Etter liberalismen kommer nasjonalismen', p. 3.
[181] E. F. Heckscher, 'A Survey of Economic Thought in Sweden, 1875-1950', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1953, pp. 107-108.
[182] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Anhållan om utarbetande af förslag till ny tulltaxa m. m.*, motion 1875:22, Stockholm 1875, pp. 6-8.
[183] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 102.
[184] Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik*, p. 118.

resorted to employing high tariffs.[185] This did not necessarily impact the trade Sweden had with Spain, as they – among a range of other European nations – had engaged in a free trade zone in the end of the 1800s.[186]

The 1880s marked a time of change in Swedish tariff policies. In parliament, protectionists argued that imports in general showed signs of overindulgence, and that there needed to be stricter tariffs in order to remedy the now 'critical economic situation' which had manifested primarily in the agricultural aspect of the Swedish economy.[187] While the discussions mostly concerned grain, protectionists blamed the transnational free trade system for the economic struggles, and as a result a hefty debate arose in the political arena regarding tariffs.[188] Heckscher argues that the population was essentially split into two defined camps; supporting either free trade or protectionism.[189] Economic historians Lehmann and Volckart argue that farmers constituted 65 % of the Swedish working class by 1887, and the majority of them were against tariff-free trade, and instead interested in imposing tariffs to protect domestic production.[190] The farmers constituted a group which was adversely affected by tariff-free trading as it seriously impacted their economy when inexpensive grain was imported from abroad, as noted by economic historian Jan Bohlin.[191] This shows that already early on in the first wave of globalisation, food and agricultural products were a major part of Swedish imports.[192] Another aspect of the protectionist ambitions was that 'many industries were dependent on tariffs' in order to survive.[193] Oranges naturally fell outside Sweden's domestic production, but the ongoing discussions about overindulgence and the negative impacts of free trade are crucial as they show the economic and political context within which Swedish orange consumption evolved.

The growth of the protectionist movement culminated in the grain duties of 1888, where tariffs were added to a number of cereals previously imported cheaply from abroad.[194] Heckscher

[185] Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 40.
[186] *ibid*, p. 11.
[187] Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik*, p. 140.
[188] *ibid*, pp. 135-141.
[189] Heckscher, 'A Survey of Economic Thought in Sweden', p. 115.
[190] Lehmann and Volckart, 'The Political Economy of Agricultural Protection', p. 35.
[191] Bohlin, 'The Income Distributional Consequences', p. 4.
[192] Lehmann and Volckart, 'The Political Economy of Agricultural Protection', p. 35.
[193] Bohlin, 'The Income Distributional Consequences', p. 2.
[194] Heckscher, 'A Survey of Economic Thought in Sweden', p. 115.

tables this decision 'constitutionally more than doubtful.'[195] It paved way for protectionists to alter the course of Swedish tariff policies on the back of the argument that the state needed more income, which could be generated by imposing tariffs.[196] As a result, tariffs were added to goods which had previously been unaffected by this.[197] The idea of overindulgence in Swedish consumption was however not novel in the 1880s. In fact, parliament records from 1875 show that the signatory of parliament motion 1875:16 highlighted the state's responsibility to enforce and increase import tariffs on certain (unspecified) goods in order to prevent excess luxury consumption in Swedish society. Oranges are mentioned in this motion, demonstrating that in the year 1872, the tariffs on the fruit brought a state income of 37,313 *kronor*, and that the tariff was set to 10 *öre* per kilogram.[198] To compare, luxury goods like coffee and cocoa also had import tariffs of respectively 10 and 12 *öre* in 1875. This supports the notion that oranges were considered a luxury in the 1870s and 1880s. The fact that the import of a good clearly denoted as luxurious increased in the 1880s can be interlinked with the accelerating urbanisation. According to Schön, the 1880s were turbulent in terms of growing foreign debt and large emigration to the United States, but also saw a rise in real wages.[199] Again, this implies that Swedes in urban contexts like for instance Stockholm had increasing salaries to spend on elastic income items like oranges.

### 3.2.4 Rapid Industrialisation and a Return to Freer Trade Policies

The tariff discussions lost momentum in the political debate in the 1890s.[200] This period demonstrates remarkably higher numbers of imported oranges than previously. In fact, 1894 marks the first time over a million kilograms of oranges were imported. This coincides with Schön's finding that the Swedish economy left its agrarian roots behind to encompass a more urban population.[201] It can thus be insinuated that the Swedish population leaned further toward a more globalised diet, as the economy and trade allowed for a more nuanced consumption. As discussed in the introduction, economic historian Mats Morell notes that the increased urban

[195] Heckscher, 'A Survey of Economic Thought in Sweden', p. 115.
[196] Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik*, p. 154.
[197] For instance pork, butter, potatoes, unpeeled rice, etc. They were met with resistance, because some of these products were not – contrary to the protectionists' arguments – overindulged on, but rather necessities for parts of the population (for example, portions of the population in northern Sweden saw American pork as a necessity, and thus its toll was heavily debated in the years that followed). Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik*, p. 164.
[198] Sweden. Riksdagen, *För statens rätt att lägga tull-afgift å i riket inkommande varor*, motion 1875:16, Stockholm 1875, p. 16.
[199] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Europe*, pp. 113-117.
[200] Heckscher, 'A Survey of Economic Thought in Sweden', p. 115.
[201] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 83.

population in Sweden led to a change in consumption patterns, as Swedes gained the economic ability to spend money on 'imported foods and groceries.'[202] The living standards went up in Sweden, and Stockholm was doing economically well as reflected by the fact that although food prices increased with nearly 25 % between 1897 and 1909, the salaries increased with 65 % in this period.[203] The greater economic freedom of Swedes could support a larger consumption of oranges and other exotic goods. According to Schön, Sweden had become 'highly, and increasingly, dependent on other countries' as its economy grew.[204] These factors facilitated the growth of luxury consumption, where oranges were included.

The last five years of the 1890s exhibit a remarkable growth in orange imports, reaching more than 2,8 million kilograms in the year 1900. This is more than ten times as much as in 1875. The radically increasing import indicates several things. Firstly, it shows that orange consumption in Sweden flourished. This can in turn be attributed to increased living standards. Hirdman notes that there was a general increase in the quest for exotic consumption goods as the working and middle classes spent more money attempting to imitate the higher classes' consumption habits, while the higher classes themselves tended to consume less expensive food in an attempt to remain in the top tier – spending excessive amounts of money on fancy foods could decrease the wealth and consequently reduce one's social class.[205] It is also important to consider that orange consumption most likely also increased because it is a delicious fruit, and not only because it had previously been primarily available to the upper classes. Secondly, Hirdman's finding that parts of the upper middle class spent relatively little money on food could give an insight as to whom was involved in the consumption of oranges. Perhaps it indicates that primarily upper-class citizens had the means to purchase and consume oranges regularly. However, as Hirdman aptly notes, the diets of the industrial workers in the cities were not known at this point in time. She maintains that the 1870s through the 1890s were a difficult time financially for most working-class families in Sweden, again reinforcing the idea that the majority of oranges were consumed by more affluent households.[206] The diets of farmers have been studied more, as it can easily be inferred that a considerable portion of their diet consisted of what they produced, but with inhabitants of cities, these assumptions are

[202] M. Morell, 'Agriculture in Industrial Society' in *The Agrarian History of Sweden: 4000 BC to AD 2000*, ed. M. Morell and J. Myrdal, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011, p. 166.
[203] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 18.
[204] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 18.
[205] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 33.
[206] *ibid.*, p. 25.

harder to make.[207] Nevertheless, the rapidly increasing imports of oranges during the turn of the twentieth century indicates a substantial upswing for orange consumption.

There are no nationally recorded statistics for the pricing of oranges, and therefore the price demarcations used in this thesis are gathered from adverts and reports in *Dagens Nyheter*, as will be further detailed in the next chapter. It should be noted that said price demarcations are few, and difficult to analyse in the sense that they convey very little information. The few ads that do include pricing of the fruit do not specify where the fruit came from, which in turn could reveal the quality. As the prices fluctuate with the season, and there is very little research literature to be found on the European fruit trade, it is difficult if not improbable to attempt to create a price index of oranges. This will be further developed on in chapter four, but it is crucial to note here that the pricing of oranges as mentioned throughout this chapter is difficult to rely on as a sole indicator of the luxuriousness, availability and quality of the fruit.

### 3.2.5 Continued Industrialisation, Heightened Living Standards, and the Great War

Williamson denotes the end of the first wave of globalisation to the 1910s and the commencement of the First World War.[208] This decade exhibits some of the largest imports in the Swedish orange trade. In 1913, just over six million kilograms of oranges, equating to about 56 million individual fruits, were imported, following the continuous, upward trend. The large imports rested on a foundation of heightened living standards thanks to increased salaries, juxtaposed with food costs which did not increase at the same rate. Further, as Williamson notes, the vast emigration from Sweden to primarily North America in the 1880s facilitated an increase in living standards for those that stayed behind, with a vaster access to employment and resources.[209] With these aspects in mind, the ever-increasing imports up until the First World War in 1914 are comprehensible.

A motion submitted to *Riksdagen* in 1914 highlights the position of oranges within Swedish society at the time. The motion requests the removal of tariffs on oranges with the argument that as of then they were so expensive that they were essentially inaccessible to all but upper classes.[210] While it is important to consider that the wording was most likely deliberate in order to promote change in the tariffs, this indicates that oranges remained a luxury good also in the

[207] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 42.
[208] Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History', p. 277.
[209] *ibid.*, p. 292.
[210] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om tullfrihet å apelsiner*, motion 1914:174, Stockholm 1914, p. 3.

1910s, despite the rapid industrialisation of Sweden and what Schön noted was an emergence of classes with increased purchasing power.[211] An advert from 1914 listed oranges for sale 'from 48 *öre* a dozen', meaning the prices of one orange would range from about four *öre*.[212] While this may sound relatively inexpensive, it is important to reiterate that most Stockholmers only had enough money to barely sustain themselves for a large portion of this thesis' timeframe, and thus presumably were unlikely to spend even four *öre* on an orange. The Swedish industrialisation, which Williamson labels 'vigorous', did however continue to engulf the nation during this time and up until the 1910s there was according to Williamson a growth of 12 % in wages.[213] This in turn could support the idea that a larger portion of the population had the means to purchase oranges than in previous decades.

The first years of the war show relatively little change, while the later years exhibit more considerable decreases, as can be observed in TABLE 3.1. 1917 shows a decrease of approximately 35 % in just one year, owing to the commencement of unrestricted submarine warfare which severely impacted trade.[214] This decrease is of course shadowed by the 1918 statistics, that show a near total trade reduction of oranges, as the imports only hit 1,788 kilograms. This reduction is mirrored in some, but not all, goods. For instance, bananas saw a reduction from 1,148,083 kilograms in 1913, to an astonishingly low two kilograms in 1918. Cocoa and chocolate saw a reduction from 1,754,669 kilograms to 751,061 kilograms in the same years. Similar patterns are observable concerning the import of for example pork and cheese.

### 3.2.6 'Psychological Starvation' Post-World War I

The post-war years demonstrate an opposite reaction in import statistics to what was explored above, namely what can only be described as an unprecedented explosion of orange imports, reaching just over 11,5 million kilograms in 1919. Similar trade spikes were observable in cocoa and chocolate, cheese and particularly pork, which saw a transition from 2,6 million kilograms in 1913, to around 750,000 in 1918, and just under 27 million kilograms in 1919.[215] The fluctuations for the pork trade are thus even more remarkable than the orange trade over

[211] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 198.
[212] 'Frukt', *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 January 1914, p. 7.
[213] Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History', p. 292.
[214] Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World*, p. 217.
[215] Interestingly, the imports for sugar and potatoes decreased in 1919 to quantities lower than the 1918 amount. Sugar, which in 1913 was imported at just over two million kilograms, went up to nine million in 1918 but came in at only seven million kilograms in 1919. Potatoes reached just below 20 million in 1919, which was lower than the 1913 imports.

said years, but exhibit a similar pattern: considerable reduction during wartime and extraordinary increase immediately after.

One explanation for this dramatic increase could be explained by Berend's finding that Sweden was among the countries that experienced a more stable and stronger economy post-war than belligerent nations.[216] Thus the Swedes could afford to import large quantities of oranges immediately after the war, while other nations had to rebuild themselves. The strong economic position did not last very long however, as Berend notes that 'none of the European nations escaped the negative consequences of the war' which could explain the decrease of three million kilograms in orange imports between 1919 – 1920.[217] However, while this explains *how* Sweden could import 11,5 million kilograms immediately after, it does not explain *why* it happened.

A reason for this considerable increase and ensuing decrease could lie with the war itself. The First World War impacted the diets of people everywhere, but in the context of Sweden, city people[218] were in general adversely affected in comparison to farmers, who had a more readily access to food. Hirdman also notes that there was an increase in food prices during the war, which led to that people opted for cheaper alternatives.[219] In the case of oranges, by late 1917 it was reported in newspapers that the fruit simply was not available for Christmas due to no ships sailing from Spain or Italy.[220] Nevertheless, Hirdman argues that there was no 'real' starvation in Stockholm during 1918. The word starvation was however still used – albeit quite liberally – and Hirdman denotes this to a sense of 'psychological starvation'.[221] In other words, that while people were not on the brink of actual starvation, they felt starved in the sense that goods and foods previously available to them were now restricted or unavailable, creating a desire for said goods.

[216] Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 52.
[217] *ibid.*, p. 52.
[218] Much like was witnessed in many places at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020, people scrambled to hoard foods like flour when Germany declared war in 1914. This was particularly the case in Stockholm. Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 215.
[219] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, pp. 247-254.
[220] 'Mycket ont om julgotter', *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 November 1917, p. 5.
[221] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, pp. 266-267.

Hirdman exemplifies this with what she calls 'a rage' which surged in early 1918 when it became public knowledge that the state's storage of oats was only accessible by *centralkök*[222] and not the rest of Stockholmers. Hirdman says that a 'shimmer' occurs around a particular item when it is no longer accessible to us, spurring a 'psychological hunger'.[223] While there is a conceivable difference between oranges and oats, this can help explain the incredible surge in orange imports post-war, exemplified by the fact the 11,5 million kilograms were imported in 1919, as opposed to six million in pre-war 1913. Further, this argumentation can be utilised in explaining why the imports dropped with nearly three million kilograms in 1920, as by then the 'psychological hunger' had been mostly satiated and thus there was no need to retain the same extraordinary import levels. However, the fact that the imports did not drop lower than eight million kilograms still suggests a changing construction of Swedish consumption habits.

What the post-war years' statistics indicate is that the orange trade seemed rather unimpacted by what Williamson's demarcation refers to as a time symptomatic of reduced trade and increased protectionism before the second wave of globalisation, often denoted as encompassing the time period 1944 – 1971.[224] Instead, the 1920s show a remarkable upswing for the orange trade, averaging nearly 11 million kilograms each year. This could indicate that Sweden's orange trade, as an expression of globalisation, deviates from Williamson's findings to the degree that it can be viewed as evidence that this demarcation is not applicable for Sweden. Naturally, Williamson's theory was not based solely on Sweden, and while the orange trade might disagree with his suggested pattern, other goods traded by Sweden may fit into his model. Nevertheless, as discussed in the introductory chapter, Williamson's demarcation has been subject of debate since it was theorised in the 1990s, hence relying solely on one demarcation and viewing it as truth is problematic.

Historian Adam McKeown highlighted in 2007 that any demarcation applied to globalisation in an attempt to provide a framework for the concept is bound to be 'made from particular perspectives.'[225] In other words, we periodise globalisation in a manner that confirms our understanding of it. Williamson's periodisation – and according to McKeown most others' as

[222] A system used during the war where the poorest in Stockholm were fed from an industrial-scale kitchen to combat malnutrition and potential starvation.
[223] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 267.
[224] Williamson, 'Globalization, Convergence, and History, p. 278.
[225] A. McKeown, 'Periodizing Globalization', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 63, 2007, p. 221.

well[226] – is principled on European nations and their expressions of globalisation. The downfall is naturally that any particular perspective of what a globalised economy entails risks excluding other economies because they do not conform to the expected pattern, and McKeown suggests that this is the issue of assuming that Williamson's view of the years 1914 – 1950s as the 'dark middle years' holds truth.[227] Thus Sweden's orange trade during the 'dark middle years' does not mirror Williamson's understanding of it. While it, in the light of his demarcation, might seem that Sweden – or at least its orange trade – deviated from a North Atlantic economic pattern, it does not necessarily mean that that is the case. The argument made here is that Williamson's periodisation is not viewed as an absolute truth, but rather used as an example within which to view the various expressions of globalisation, including Sweden's orange trade.

### 3.2.7 Greater Stability, and Significant Increase in Orange Imports

The orange imports of the 1920s were marked by general stability between eight and nine million kilograms annually in the first half, and considerable increase in the second half. Schön argues that Sweden recovered quickly from the post-war economic troubles that swept across the world in the early 1920s, which can help explain how the orange imports remained stable.[228] He maintains that the economy was strong and that the population, and particularly so that of the cities, enjoyed a much vaster purchasing power during this decade, thanks to a real wage increase which was more considerable than observed in other nations.[229] The year 1925 marked an increase of over one million kilograms as opposed to the year before, and it is possible that this was due to the above-mentioned factors.

The data from the last years of the 1920s support the argument that the import of oranges kept increasing at a considerable rate. Nevertheless, one feature of the last years of this thesis' timeframe stands out. The increase between the years 1929 and 1930 marks the largest growth in peacetime, namely over 11 million kilograms. This remarkable increase can perhaps be explained by what was highlighted in a parliamentary decision from June 1929, namely that the tariff on oranges was removed.[230] This decision made oranges more accessible to the wider Swedish public. It was made on the back of the many motions described throughout this

[226] McKeown, 'Periodizing Globalization', p. 225.
[227] *ibid.*, p. 225.
[228] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 184.
[229] *ibid.*, pp. 198-205.
[230] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Proposition med förslag till tulltaxeförordning ävensom i ämnet väckta motioner*, parliamentary decision 1929:316, Stockholm, 1929, pp. 7-12.

chapter, and one of the last ones written with regard to the tariffs on oranges was presented to *Riksdagen* in January of 1929. In this motion, the signatories argued that the tariff needed to be removed on the basis that the fruit was now available in 'nearly every grocery shop, and sold in most remote areas.'[231] This gives an indication that the position of oranges had altered in Swedish consumption despite the fact that the tariff had remained at 10 *öre* throughout the entire timeframe of this thesis. On the background of this, the increased focus of the early twentieth century on the impact of vitamins as will be discussed in the next chapter, and that the tariff primarily made oranges inaccessible only to the poorer layers of society, its removal was demanded.[232] As observed, it was granted in June 1929, concluding a string of motions requesting this action that can be dated back to as early as the 1870s.

Secondly, a vital difference as compared to other years' drastic import increases was that the increase of 1929 – 1930 took place amid a global, economic depression. However, it is important to note that the Great Depression did not impact the Swedish economy to a vast extent, and the impacts it did create were not felt until the early years of the 1930s, and even then the orange trade seemed largely unimpacted. This was a pattern which remained visible in the following decades as well.[233] Sweden's approach to the Great Depression has been studied by researchers globally as it coped relatively well during the crisis. Political economy scholar Adnan Türegün denoted this success to a 'departure from the gold standard, currency devaluation, international and domestic protection of agriculture and mild monetary reflation.'[234] Türegün argued that Sweden retained 'trade and domestic liberalism' which allowed its economy to remain afloat despite the global crisis.[235] This in turn helps explain the orange imports of 1930.

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[231] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om upphävande av tullen å apelsiner, torkade äpplen, päron, aprikoser och persikor*, motion 1929:74, pp. 15-16.
[232] *ibid.*
[233] In fact, the years 1932 to 1933 saw an increase of nearly seven million kilograms, reaching a total of 33,5 million kilograms. A steady upsurge can be observed up until the Second World War, where 1939 marked a year of just above 44 million kilograms imported. In 1944, the imports were at 31 million, followed by a low 14 million in 1945. This low import can be explained by the war, as well as drained economies globally. 1946, however, is a remarkable statistical outlier, as this year over 93 million kilograms of oranges were imported. This can of course be related to the revolutionary orange juice being hugely popularised around the war, becoming an instant necessity globally. C. Hyman, *Oranges: A Global History*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013, p. 63. The increase can also be argued to demonstrate Hirdman's notion of an attempt to satiate the 'psychological hunger', also mirrored by the years immediately following the First World War. Perhaps a similar trend can be observable when studying consumption patterns post-Covid-19 in future historical works? The records of orange import cease in 1948, when they presumably are consumed into the category 'fresh fruit'.
[234] A. Türegün, 'Revisiting Sweden's Response to the Great Depression of the 1930s: Economic Policy in a Regional Context', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, 2017, p. 128.
[235] *ibid*, p. 144.

## 3.3 CONCLUSION

Several conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this chapter. Firstly, FIGURE 3.1 shows a clear trend of increasing import of oranges in Sweden between 1865 – 1930. Temporary decreases can be observed in for instance the late 1860s, the late 1870s, and during the First World War. One can also choose to view the first half of the 1920s as a stagnation in imports, before another surge from 1925 and onwards. Furthermore, there were significant increases in the 1880s, 1890s, and the 1910s.

The statistical documents explored in this chapter have shown that between 1865 and 1929 the tariffs for oranges remained unchanged at 10 *öre* per kilogram, despite protests recorded in parliamentary records. The next chapter will substantiate the notion of resistance toward the tariffs with findings from newspaper articles and reports, to show that not only members of parliament were interested in the removal of tariffs, but also members of the public. The removal of tariffs on oranges in 1929 can be used as an explanation for the explosive increase in imports between 1929 and 1930. As there are so few price indications to rely on for this analysis, the import statistics are the most helpful tool to rely on in determining the importance of oranges within Swedish consumption patterns.[236]

Another important finding from the import statistics is that the orange trade seemed to be rather unscathed by global economic events, sometimes even gaining from them. The timeframe of this thesis encompasses two large-scaled economic depressions, and a significant global conflict. While the latter impacted the trade only slightly negatively in the first few years of the war, and severely in 1918, global events seem to have had little impact on the orange trade, as visible when observing the crisis of the late 1800s, and looking beyond the scope of this thesis. In fact, oranges appeared to receive amplified attention after these events, increasing imports. This is especially visible in 1919,[237] which among other things can be attributed to what Hirdman referred to as a 'psychological starvation' during the war.

In terms of the research question, how orange imports changed between 1865 – 1930 and what it can reveal about Swedish consumption trends, it is clear that the fruit became more and more

[236] Future research could perhaps attempt to explore household account books where available to in clearer detail discern the price fluctuations of oranges. The drawback of such an approach is of course that the prices most likely varied between different cities as well as between rural and urban areas.
[237] As well as 1946, following the end of the Second World War, although this falls outside the scope of the present research.

popular over the course of the timeframe. It also suggests that more nuanced and globalised consumption increased for Swedes. The parliamentary motions indicate that oranges were viewed as luxury goods through at least the First World War, but the 1910s mark an increase in fruit and vegetable consumption[238] and by the 1920s there was a lot of pressure from members of parliament and the public to remove tariffs, so that the fruit could reach more layers of society. This will be further elaborated on in the next chapter. The motions make it evident that the luxury status was removed, or in the very least reduced significantly.

The sub-question asked whether the findings in this chapter can assist in expanding the current understanding of demarcations, particularly Williamson's widely recognised periodisation, of first and second wave globalisation in Sweden. If understanding the waves of globalisation as expressions of international cooperation and trade, it becomes evident that the orange import statistics of Sweden in 1865 – 1930 indicate that the argument that the years between the two waves were fundamentally concerned with protectionism and reduced trade networks is faulty. Instead, the years between the two waves point toward a boom in imports. However, as discussed earlier this perspective is limited to when applying the Swedish orange import to one scholar's periodisation – albeit one that is often employed. Thus, further research is needed to explore other avenues in terms of how Sweden and its import and export trade fit into certain periodisations. In this context, however, it suffices to conclude that when observing the Swedish orange trade from the perspective of Williamson's periodisation – and excluding other essential factors like migration and convergence – the imports detailed in this chapter deviate from what is expected. In conclusion, the findings of this chapter can contribute to current literature and understanding of globalisation in Sweden by highlighting that at least certain aspects of the import trade diverged from the current understanding, which could thus indicate that it could be the case for other goods as well. In turn, in-depth research into all aspects of Swedish trade, and ultimately other factors that are often explored when interpreting whether a nation is currently within a wave of globalisation, may shift the understanding we have now, and ultimately alter the way we view the possibility to ever truly periodise globalisation. To quote McKeown, 'no one globalization is the true globalization.'[239]

[238] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om tullfrihet å apelsiner*, motion 1914:174, Stockholm 1914, p. 3.
[239] McKeown, 'Periodizing Globalization', p. 224.

In summary, it can be argued that the imports of oranges between 1865 – 1930 show that the fruit transitioned from being a rare luxury item to becoming more and more readily available to the broader Swedish population. It further suggests that Swedes incorporated a more nuanced and globalised diet over this time. This finding can assist in exploring present understandings of global events' impact on Swedish consumption trends, for instance questioning how Sweden and its economic development can be understood within different interpretations of globalisation. The economic history of oranges and their journey from a luxury item to becoming an everyday food item is however only half of the story. The next chapter will examine advertisements, newspaper articles, reports, and other texts from *Dagens Nyheter* in order to substantiate the analysis of this chapter.

# 4. Planting a Seed of Change: Oranges as Portrayed in *Dagens Nyheter*, 1865 – 1930

## 4.1 Conceptual Considerations

### 4.1.1 Research Question

The previous chapter demonstrated the notable surge of orange imports to Sweden between 1865 – 1930, a total increase which constituted over 26 million kilograms, or an annual average of 403,160 kilograms. However, the story of orange consumption in Sweden is much more complicated than what an economic macro perspective can convey. Nonetheless, when combined with other methodological approaches utilising other sources, the macro perspective can contribute with very useful insights that substantiate the analysis. This chapter will therefore examine sources obtained from the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, and focus specifically on the city of Stockholm. The research question is as follows:

*How were oranges portrayed in Dagens Nyheter between 1865 – 1930?*

The purpose is to uncover how *Dagens Nyheter* displayed the fruit in advertisements, news reports, and opinion pieces in the paper between 1865 – 1930, and what this can reveal about its transition from a luxury item to a more common food item. The previous chapter concluded that oranges likely became more common in the early 1900s, as observed through import statistics. However, it is difficult to trace when oranges transitioned from being a luxury item to becoming a more common food item for the average Swede. The focus therefore shifts in this chapter to Stockholm, with the ambition of pinpointing approximately when Stockholmers in general had a relatively unrestricted access to oranges, and no longer perceived them as luxury items. For this purpose, such 'access' and perception is determined by how *DN*, sources like parliamentary motions, and published works discuss, display and portray oranges within the Stockholm context. The choice to focus on Stockholm is based on the notion that cities harboured the largest populations as industrialisation expanded and consequently amplified the urban population. Subsequently, a platform for diverse and augmented consumption emerged. Stockholm has one of Sweden's two largest harbours and has historically been a crucial port

of commerce. As found in the statistical documents of the previous chapter, often, but not always, the largest amounts of the national orange import arrived in Stockholm. While not all oranges stayed within the city, but most likely were distributed by merchants beyond Stockholm, the city still had Sweden's largest population and thus also likely the most orange consumers.

### 4.1.2 Explanation of *Dagens Nyheter*

*Dagens Nyheter* is the primary source collection used in this chapter, as discussed in the introduction. It has been published nearly daily since the beginning of 1865, with the intention of reaching across all social layers both in Stockholm and the rest of Sweden.[240] As of the late 1800s the entire Swedish population was literate.[241] Considering this fact, and that *DN* intended to be accessible across the wider Swedish geographical context, the reach and importance of the paper cannot be diminished. While the analysis of how *DN* portrays oranges cannot be expected to uncover the total extent of orange consumption in Stockholm, it can contribute with many significant conclusions regarding how the fruit's role in Stockholmers' consumption changed over time.

The appearance of the paper altered over the course of this thesis' timeframe. From 1865 to 1909, the issues consisted of four pages each. Occasionally, however, two issues could be published in one day. In the first years, news concerning both Stockholm and the nation as a whole, and reports on foreign affairs were slotted one after the other, lastly followed by a page at least partially dedicated to adverts. In the first issue, it was announced that adverts were charged by line and not word, making the paper one of the cheapest ones to advertise in.[242] This seems to have had an impact, as already by April 1865 the adverts exceed the fourth page and instead start appearing on the third. This is not the case of all issues of the paper, but it shows that already in the paper's early history often as much as – and sometimes more – than 25 % of the space was dedicated to adverts. Presumably, these factors contributed to making *DN* a desirable medium for grocers to advertise their products in. This is relevant as adverts play a fundamental role in this chapter's analysis. The combination of cheap advertisement

[240] 'Anmälan', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 December 1864, p. 1.
[241] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 96.
[242] 'Anmälan', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 December 1864, p. 1.

space and the paper's ambition to reach several socio-economic groups in Stockholm but also wider Sweden, makes the paper ideal to examine.

In 1909, a majority of the shares in *DN* were purchased by the Bonnier Group, a media company which today owns a multitude of newspapers and other media. This contributed with new funds which allowed for structural changes. One of these changes was initiated on 2 July 1909 when the paper started using its new printing press.[243] Consequently, it launched a revised look on 4 July 1909, with a notable 24 pages.[244] After this celebratory issue the paper settled for 10-16 pages per issue, until after the First World War when issues averaged 20 pages, which continued throughout the timeframe of this thesis. One of the most important features of the longer issues is that even more space than previously was devoted to adverts. One of the reasons that made it possible for papers to expand their size was the reduction in price of paper production from the 1890s and onward.[245]

The analysis of this chapter is concerned with all varieties of text in *DN* that utilise the word *apelsin,* which is the Swedish word for sweet orange. A few notes are important to make here. Firstly, the archive's search system does not always pick up the search words, which means that the statistics given for each year-set in chapter four should not be taken as absolute accuracy, but rather a strong indication. Secondly, it is an active choice to search only for texts using the word *apelsin* and not *citrus* or *sydfrukt*.[246] *Citrus* only appears twice throughout 1865 – 1930, and while there are just over 1,000 hits for *sydfrukt*, the ambiguity of the word means that not all hits will automatically refer to oranges, even if many are expected to. Therefore, said texts – unless also displaying the word *apelsin* – will be excluded from the analysis.

As the scope of this project does not allow the analysis of every advertisement mentioning *apelsin* between 1865 – 1930, I have selected several years that I deem significant either due to remarkably large imports of oranges, or a significant change in how many hits the word *apelsin* had during certain years. I have then constructed 'year-sets' around said years, as follows: 1865 – 1870, 1875 – 1880, 1895 – 1900, 1910 – 1915, 1919 – 1920, 1928 – 1930. The data comprising both the statistics discussed in chapter three and the hits on *apelsin* is

[243] 'Dagens Nyheter inviger sin nya press', *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 July 1909, p. 2.
[244] 'Då Dagens Nyheter första gången utkom i sitt nya format', *Dagens Nyheter*, 5 July 1909, p. 1.
[245] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 108.
[246] English translation: southern fruits or fruits from the south, referring to fruits grown around the Mediterranean basin.

visualised in FIGURE 4.1 below. The first year-set was chosen because it demarks the starting point of the thesis, and *DN*'s publication, and it is therefore crucial to analyse the commencement of orange-related adverts in the paper. The second year-set was chosen because it marks an increase in hits on *apelsin* in *DN*, but simultaneously a period of relative stagnation in orange imports. Therefore, the relationship between these two aspects is important to investigate. The third year-set was marked by significantly increasing imports, while displaying a stagnation in hits, again generating a crucial period to examine. The fourth year-set includes year of exceptionally vast interconnectedness globally, as well as the First World War. Consequently, the year-set displays some of the largest imports, but also some of the lowest hits, making it a relevant period to examine closely. The fifth year-set is vital to examine, as it immediately follows the end of the First World War, while also exhibiting remarkably high imports and hits. The sixth and final year-set is chosen as it demarks the end of the thesis' timeframe, but also because the imports were larger than ever before, while the hits had stagnated around quantities similar to those of year-sets two and three. The primary reason for reducing the size of the two latter year-sets as compared to the other ones is due to the quantity of hits, as they were significantly higher in number, and consequently it is not viable to examine as many years during these sets as compared to previous sets.

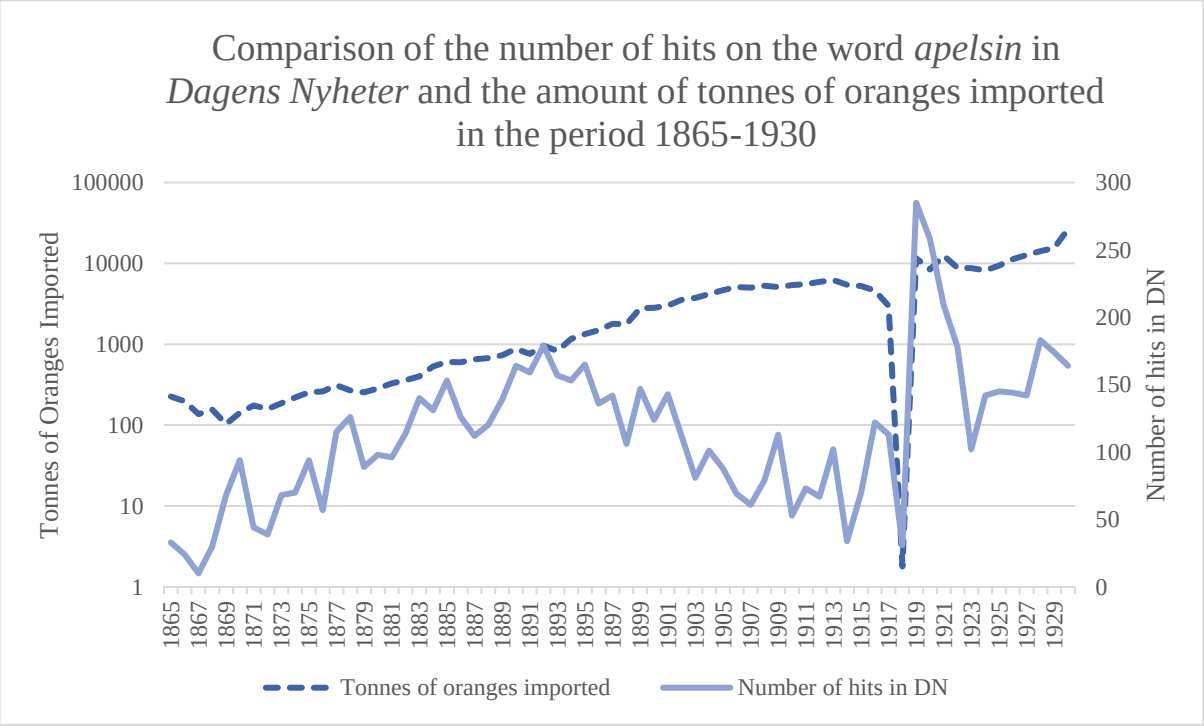


FIGURE 4.1

While the methodology of examining adverts, news reports, opinion pieces and other texts with the ambition of analysing their implications on consumption patterns is useful, there are some limitations that have been considered. Firstly, the number of adverts published with regard to oranges cannot meaningfully be construed as showing a direct correlation with the consumption of the fruit and how accessible it was. While a much vaster prevalence of orange-related adverts in 1910 as compared to 1870 can imply that oranges were becoming more common as time progressed, small fluctuations between years cannot be assigned enough meaning to impact the understanding of national consumption patterns. Therefore, this thesis has progressed with the analysis of *DN*'s material with the awareness that the source material cannot provide an indisputable description of orange consumption in Stockholm. However, the findings from chapters three and four can together, when weighed carefully against each other and the historical context, provide a relatively reliable insight into orange consumption and approximately when and how oranges transitioned from being a luxury item to becoming more readily available to the average Swede.

In each year-set I will outline the number of 'hits' on the word *apelsin* for individual years, and discuss this in correlation with the import findings. The contents of the text using *apelsin* will be examined, to draw conclusions regarding how the usage altered over time. The chapter shows that the word was originally primarily dominant in adverts for luxury items, but as time progressed, the fruit became further integrated in the public discourse, increasingly appearing in news reports and opinion pieces. The most significant change happens in the 1910s and the 1920s, when the fruit seems to become more and more common, and arguably accessible to most socio-economic groups in Stockholm.

## 4.2 Analysis

### 4.2.1 1865 – 1870: A Rare Luxury Good

TABLE 4.1 demonstrates the number of times the word *apelsin* was mentioned in adverts, news reports, and other forms of texts in *DN* each individual year between 1865 – 1870. This data shows clear variations in number of hits, with both increasing and decreasing trends, where the dominating trend is an increase from 1868 and onward.

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1865 | 33 |
| 1866 | 24 |
| 1867 | 10 |
| 1868 | 30 |
| 1869 | 68 |
| 1870 | 94 |

TABLE 4.1

During this year-set *DN* was establishing itself as a new daily newspaper in Sweden in general, and Stockholm in particular. Therefore, it is not unsurprising that the number of hits of the word *apelsin* in the first years is relatively low when comparing to later year-sets. Furthermore, as has been mentioned the paper only consisted of four pages until 1909, and thus there was limited space available for advertisements and text in general.[247] Due to these factors, the fluctuations of hits in this year-set can be assumed to be influenced by whether advertisers deemed the paper's reach relevant enough for their intended audience. In other words, until the paper was firmly established there were potentially an ambivalence toward using it as a medium to reach customers. Another explanation for the fluctuating and low hits on *apelsin* could be that orange-producing countries were adversely affected by the economic crisis of the 1860s. As established, Sweden was in Montgomery's words relatively unaffected and instead experienced an 'economic calmness' during the late 1860s when the record low 1867 imports occurred.[248] One explanation is therefore either that orange-producing countries fared worse than Sweden during the economic crisis, ultimately decreasing citrus production in said areas, resulting in low imports to Sweden. However, a theory presented in the previous chapter is that the orange simply had not manifested itself in Swedish consumption yet and therefore did not warrant a steady and continuously increasing import. The latter is more likely, considering that none of the citrus scholars consulted in chapter two discussed any major production reductions during the late 1860s.

[247] 'Då Dagens Nyheter första gången utkom i sitt nya format', *Dagens Nyheter*, 5 July 1909, p. 1.
[248] Montgomery, *Svensk Tullpolitik 1816-1911*, p. 113.

The first mention of *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* occurred in February 1865, and it supports the above-mentioned perspective as it details the arrival of 'oranges, lemons, figs, raisins and other rarities' to Gothenburg harbour by steamship. The short notice conveys plenty of information. Firstly, it confirms that citrus fruits were viewed as a 'rarity' in the mid-1860s. This impression is further established by the fact that their import to Gothenburg harbour warranted a notice in a Stockholm-based paper, albeit with national focus. Secondly, the ad suggests that the fruits 'soon will be in every man's mouth.'[249] This is interesting because it insinuates that 'every man' could afford oranges, and furthermore that there were enough oranges to satiate 'every man'. While one assumption is that this contradicts the notion that oranges were rare fruits in the 1860s, the economic findings indicate that they were in fact rare, coinciding with the general historical evidence. It is thus more likely that the notice was written in this manner to enthuse the reader to purchase oranges once they arrived.

The first orange advertisement in *DN* was published 20 March 1865, and can be viewed in FIGURE 4.2.[250] The advert is straight-forward, simply stating the availability of two items; Messina oranges and grapes. This is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, the short, non-descriptive advert suggests that the products were relatively known, therefore not requiring any further details. Secondly, there is no indication of pricing, which seems to be the norm based on the other adverts on the page. Other adverts by the same grocer, however, used labels such as 'cheap' and 'low price', so a lack thereof for oranges, in combination with the separations between the adverts, suggest a conscious decision to highlight the oranges' significance and luxuriousness. Moreover, the choice to include the word 'Messina' can be another hint regarding the luxuriousness of the fruit. As has been established in chapter two, a significant portion of the oranges arriving in Sweden originated in Italy, although Spain was the principal source. Highlighting the fact that the oranges in this ad originated in the Italian region Messina can signify a luxury stamp that was assigned certain goods, thus tempting a certain group of buyers. The lack of pricing in the advert makes it impossible to compare Messina oranges with other advertised varieties, to examine whether certain varieties were preferred over others, by Stockholmers. Explanations for why there was

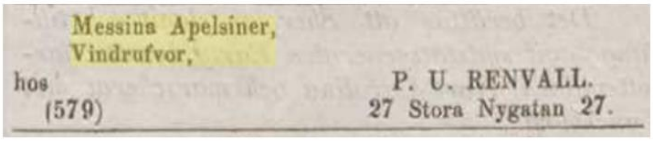
Messina Apelsiner,
Vindrufvor,
hos
P. U. RENVALL.
(579)
27 Stora Nygatan 27.

FIGURE 4.2

[249] 'Sydfrukter att vänta', *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 February 1865, p. 2.
[250] 'Messina Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 20 March 1865, p. 4.

a lack of pricing include that even though oranges were expensive and reserved for those of high disposable income, they could still have been well-established and sought-after by those with the financial means to acquire them, therefore not needing a label of being cheap in order to enthuse said people to buy them. Considering the import statistics, this seems a logical explanation, as so few oranges were imported in comparison to both the national and city populations.

A similar advert was published in early May 1865, listing Messina oranges both in bulk and apiece for a 'cheap price.'[251] As was found in chapter two, the Messina region, i.e. Sicily, primarily cultivated the Calabrian or Oval variety which matures late in the citrus season. 'Late' seems to constitute approximately between February and April, as this was the rough spread of adverts for oranges labelled Messina.[252] So while the advert from May 1865 listed Messina oranges as 'cheap', this could be due to that their quality had reduced as its period of prime ripeness had passed. In turn, this supports the notion that oranges were still a luxury in the 1860s and thus only listed as 'cheap' when their quality reduced.

The adverts were not only concerned with oranges in their 'raw' form. In 1866 the first 'lemonade powder' advert appeared; a product perpetually advertised in *DN* throughout this year-set.[253] This is important because it changed *when* orange-related adverts were published. Previously in the year-set it is clear that the adverts were dependent on the orange harvesting season, namely December through April. The lemonade powder, which was often sold in the flavours of lemon and orange, changed this trend as it was accessible all year round. While orange squash[254] had not previously been available during the summer months, the introduction of the powder allowed – according to the ads – people to enjoy the 'delicious, refreshing taste' of it throughout the year.[255] However, a dictionary in 1916 described the powder as an 'inadequate substitute for squash', which could possibly explain why it was popular only until oranges became more common, and therefore also substantiated the orange squash market.[256] From *DN*'s portrayal of oranges in this year-set it can be extrapolated that the fruit and

[251] 'Messina Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 May 1865, p. 4.
[252] 'Nya Messina Citroner och Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 April 1868, p. 3; 'Söta Messina Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 February 1866, p.4.
[253] 'Safter', *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 June 1866, p. 4.
[254] Here used as a term for *saft*; the sweet drink usually made from a concentrate of reduced fruits or berries, mixed with water.
[255] 'Lemonadpulver', *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 June 1869, p. 4.
[256] 'Saft', *Nordisk Familjebok*, vol. 24 (1916), p. 327.

derivative products gained a gradually larger influence on Stockholmers' consumption, and started to manifest itself more and more as the late 1800s progressed.

Interestingly, an advert for lemonade powder from June 1869 has a demarcation of price.[257] One *skålpund*[258] of the powder cost 1 *rdr rmt*.[259] To put this into perspective, a two-bedroom apartment was listed for rent at 100 *rdr* a year in 1869.[260] The same year, a restaurant advertised a three-course meal with beer and spirits for 1 *rdr rmt*.[261] However, it should be noted that lemonade powder was most likely not sold by the pound, but rather in small portions as only a few grams were necessary to make one glass or jug of squash, although there do not seem to be any Swedish sources confirming this. While the total price listed in adverts therefore seems remarkably expensive, the product was probably much cheaper if comparing to how much one glass' worth of powder would cost. Nevertheless, only a month after said ad, there was a second advert about lemonade powder from a separate grocer, pricing it at 1 *rdr rmt* and 15 *öre*. The ad specifies that the powder had been appreciated and purchased in large quantities across the country, indicating that the consumption trends in relation to oranges and its derivative products had been altered.[262]

Concludingly, most adverts and notices in this year-set are categorically undescriptive; there are barely any price indications, and most of the ads are short and lack detail. While this could indicate that there was little need to advertise oranges because they were regularly purchased by those that could afford them, i.e. people with higher disposable income, it could also be reflective of the fact that grocers wanted to save as much money as possible by avoiding lengthy adverts, as *DN* charged advertisers per line – although at the cheapest price in Stockholm, according to themselves.[263] Where it is hinted that the oranges were 'cheap', it likely had to do with reduced quality. *DN* thus portrays oranges as luxuries during this year-set.

[257] 'Lemonadpulver', *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 June 1869, p. 4.
[258] A pound, i.e. 0,425kg.
[259] *Rdr rmt* was an abbreviation of *riksdaler riksmynt*, and was a currency that was utilised from 1855, until replaced in the 1870s with *kronor*. 1 *rdr rmt* was worth 100 *öre*.
[260] 'En lägenhet', *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 March 1869, p. 4.
[261] 'Table d'Hôte', *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 January 1869, p. 1.
[262] 'Lemonadpulver', *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 July 1869, p. 3.
[263] 'Anmälan', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 December 1864, p. 1.

### 4.2.2 1875 – 1880: Ambivalent Luxury Status

In this year-set, there are further fluctuations between the years as to how often *apelsin* is mentioned in *DN*. Especially two years stand out, namely 1877 and 1878. Considering the findings in chapter three that these years where characterised by an amplified focus on protectionism and heightened focus on tariff policies, it is interesting that both imports and hits rose during 1877. Perhaps more interesting, however, is the discrepancy of 1878. This year, orange imports decreased with nearly 14 %, but hits on the word *apelsin* increased with around 9,5 % as compared to 1877. It should also be highlighted here that the vast majority of hits during this year-set are advertisements.

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1875 | 94 |
| 1876 | 57 |
| 1877 | 115 |
| 1878 | 126 |
| 1879 | 89 |
| 1880 | 98 |

TABLE 4.2

In other words, there are very few mentions of *apelsin* in news reports or other types of notices as compared to the prevalence in adverts. A 9,5 % surge in hits in 1878 is therefore an indication that there were more orange ads, which does not correspond with the lowered imports. Nevertheless, the 'low' imports were only marginally lower and could therefore be indicative of the ambivalent status of oranges in Swedish consumption, rather than a decrease in supply or demand. Schön argues that there was an economic downturn in Sweden between 1878 – 1879, which could explain the lowered imports for these years and 1880; people had less money to spend on income elastic goods.[264] According to him, the downturn particularly affected the 'Stockholm financial world', and arguably the people within this socio-economic group were those with particular high disposable income, which can explain the reduction in orange imports and possibly demand. Another explanation is that the orange imports fluctuated due to that the fruit had yet to establish itself within Swedish consumption. In terms of Stockholm, this was partially expressed by the varying representation of *apelsin* in *DN*, as visible in TABLE 4.2.

1875 showcases a range of advertisements for orange squash, and a few ads regarding lemonade powder. In an ad which contains both products, the former is listed as costing '1:50

[264] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, p. 115.

a bottle', and the latter as '1 *krona'* a pound.[265] In other words, the pricing is similar to that of the previous year-set. The fact that the price has not reduced corroborates the suggestion in chapter three that oranges were still predominantly a luxury good in the 1870s. This is further supported by the fact that the fruit often appeared alongside luxury items in ads, such as chocolate pralines, and therefore signifies that oranges held at least a similar status.[266] What sets oranges apart from chocolate though, is for instance the tariffs. In 1875 oranges had a tariff of 10 *öre* per kilogram, while chocolate had 30 *öre*.[267] This indicates a difference in how the state perceived these two goods in terms of their luxury status, although they were advertised as luxury items alongside each other.

While this year-set, like the previous, is dominated by adverts, there are hits on the word *apelsin* which appear in other varieties of text, that give an indication as to the status and prevalence of oranges in Scandinavian consumption at the time. For instance, two news reports on crimes were published. In June 1876, a woman was caught smuggling 71 oranges[268] on a steamship from Denmark to Sweden.[269] From this text it becomes clear that oranges were costly enough to implore some people to smuggle them. It also suggests Denmark sold oranges to a lower price than Sweden. This is also corroborated by the fact that, as chapter three showed, Denmark was an important exporter of oranges to Sweden. Similarly, a group of young boys were reported to have stolen money in Oslo in 1877, and consequently spent the money on renting boats, train tickets, and to buy oranges.[270] The fact that the latter was listed alongside the other events in the report makes it clear that oranges were a luxury item in Scandinavia as a whole, which was not available to everyone. The two news reports show that the desirability and rarity of oranges in the 1870s in some cases drove people to employ illegal measures to obtain them. In other words, from *DN*'s portrayal, oranges can be understood as having retained their luxury stamp also during this year-set and were therefore not yet an integral part of the average Stockholmer's consumption, despite rising imports.

Another sign of oranges' luxury status is the relatively few demarcations of price of the fruit. Unlike the previous year-set, in this there are several news reports detailing the price of certain

[265] *Dagens Nyheter*, 14 June 1875, p. 4.
[266] 'Messina Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 March 1875, p. 4.
[267] BiSOS F: Utrikeshandel och Sjöfart, *Statistisk Centralbyrå*, 1875, p. 3.
[268] As well as other food items, including 'one large sausage'.
[269] 'Smuggleri', *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 June 1876, p. 2.
[270] 'Utrikes', *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 May 1877, p. 2.

goods at the Stockholm wharves, albeit oranges are only mentioned scarcely. In June 1875, oranges are listed as costing between '25-30 *öre'* apiece.[271] There is however no indication as to which type this report refers to, or which place of origin they had. As chapter two showed that the primary European citrus season was December through April, this suggests that the fruit came from outside of Europe; however, it was most likely not the South African variety as it was not exported until 1907.[272] Therefore, the oranges probably originated in another country outside of Europe, or were 'old' oranges from that year's season.

Concludingly, this *DN*'s portrayal of oranges in this year-set exhibits some variations which can signify that orange consumption in Sweden and Stockholm was still very ambivalent, due to the fruit's inherent position as a luxury good in the 1870s. The hits are dominated by adverts in this year-set as well, and as examined here they indicate that oranges remained an unobtainable luxury for many Stockholmers.

### 4.2.3 1895 – 1900: Increased Accessibility

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1895 | 165 |
| 1896 | 136 |
| 1897 | 142 |
| 1898 | 106 |
| 1899 | 147 |
| 1900 | 124 |

TABLE 4.3

Chapter three showed that this year-set followed a time of political turbulence in Sweden as there was a heightened focus on tariffs, and the idea of 'overindulgence'. The perspective was that the Swedish population increasingly engaged in over-consumption of goods as more and more items became available to them as a result of global interconnectedness.[273] As Sweden evolved from being primarily agrarian to becoming an increasingly urbanised society where the populations of cities grew, consumption altered accordingly. This year-set falls within a category of years between 1882 – 1902 where the number of hits on *apelsin* remain between one and two hundred. This is particularly interesting as the paper still consisted of only four pages. It thus shows that *DN* displayed oranges more often, as they became more commonly advertised and present in the public discourse. However, it should be noted that the number of hits does not necessarily reflect the popularity of the fruit.

[271] 'Stockholms torg- o. hamnpriser', *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 June 1875, p. 3.
[272] 'The South African Fruit Industry', p. 580.
[273] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Anhållan om utarbetande af förslag till ny tulltaxa m. m*., motion 1875:22, Stockholm, 1875, pp. 6-8; Sweden. Riksdagen, *Angående förhöjning af tullen på åtskilliga lyx- och öfverflödsartiklar samt ändring i tulltaxans uppställning m. m.*, motion 1885:18, Stockholm, 1885, p. 1.

It could for instance be suggested that grocers would choose to advertise their product when it did not sell as much as expected, to ensure revenue. Therefore, one cannot convincingly argue that the number of orange adverts translated directly to consumption habits, but it shows that *DN* provided the fruit more space.

This year-set is unique from the two previous ones in that it exhibits a larger quantity of orange-related adverts. Sometimes as many as five separate adverts for oranges were present on one page.[274] The nature of *DN*'s portrayal of oranges therefore suggests that they were becoming more and more common in terms of Stockholmers' consumption trends. The growth of the Swedish urban population in the 1890s alongside the improvement and acceleration of the global citrus trade most likely increased the demand for oranges, as more people were living urban lives and thus had access to greater salaries and also a larger supply of goods in cities than when living in the countryside. Furthermore, chapter three demonstrated that oranges were imported in much larger quantities than in the previous year-sets, as the imports rose above one million kilograms for the first time in 1894. Considering that the Swedish population in that year was approximately 4,9 million,[275] that would mean that there were on average 2,15 oranges per citizen that year. Another sign corroborating that oranges were present to a vaster degree in Swedish society in general is that it was used as a simile in for instance news reports; a report from early 1895 likens a 'fire ball shooting across the sky' to an orange.[276] This demonstrates that *DN* expected its readership – all social classes across Stockholm and the country[277] – to be familiar with the concept of oranges and understand the metaphor.

This year-set is overall dominated by adverts for Messina oranges. Their pricing altered as compared to previous year-sets; in 1896 a dozen oranges cost 85 *öre*.[278] In 1875, the same price was applied to only three oranges.[279] Comparing with the findings of chapter three, it is evident that oranges had manifested themselves more within Stockholmers' consumption trends. However, there are two crucial aspects to acknowledge with this comparison. Firstly, the advert was published in February, at the height of the orange season in Europe. Therefore, the price

[274] *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 February 1895, p. 2.
[275] SCB, 'Befolkningsutveckling', *Statistisk Centralbyrå*, 22 February 2021, accessed: 29 March 2021.
[276] 'Ett naturfenomen', *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 January 1895, p. 3.
[277] It should be noted here that by the 1890s other papers in Stockholm had adopted the same ambitions of accessility and legibility as *DN*. *DN* had been the most widely read paper in the 1880s, and was trying to reach that status again. L. Linder, 'Dagens Nyheter – 150 år i ständig förändring', *Dagens Nyheter*, 27 January 2014, accessed: 26 March 2021.
[278] 'I dag inkommit', *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 February 1896, p. 1.
[279] 'Stockholms torg- o. hamnpriser', *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 June 1875, p. 3.

detailed cannot be construed as an unquestionable source for what oranges cost in general in Stockholm in 1896. Many factors could contribute to bringing the price 'down', for instance that the market was flooded with both Spanish and Italian citrus fruits. What is interesting, however, is the second source showing the price of oranges at the Stockholm docks in 1875. The report is published in June, therefore outside Europe's orange season, meaning the price listed is either for European oranges past their 'prime ripeness', or for South African oranges, as chapter two showed that they supplied the market during the European off-season. It is however impossible to certify, as the report does not specify which origin or type the oranges were.

Interestingly, a news report from November 1896 details the arrival of 'half a million Seville oranges'[280] by steamship to a Stockholm warehouse.[281] This shows that oranges were popular enough that half a million of them were expected to be bought and consumed within the next foreseeable future. As there are no mentions of whether the oranges were to be redistributed from the warehouse, or consumed in Stockholm, it is difficult to establish their importance to the Stockholm consumer market. At that point in time there were nearly five million inhabitants in Sweden,[282] of which roughly 300,000 resided in Stockholm.[283] It is unlikely that all oranges were to be consumed within Stockholm, as that would either mean that they were consumed casually by the average Stockholmer – at least one per person – or in very large amounts by certain socio-economic groups. Instead, it more likely that some of the oranges were redistributed beyond the city, but the report nevertheless implies that oranges were become steadily more common in Stockholm, as they were imported in such quantities.

Concludingly, *Dagens Nyheter*'s depiction of oranges in this year-set shows that the fruit was becoming more common, but arguably not accessible to all socio-economic groups of Stockholm. Instead, oranges seem to have been in an ambivalent stage during this year-set,

[280] As indicated in chapter two, Seville oranges was the term for bitter oranges, in other words those that were ideal for making marmalade and to use as seasoning, but not sweet enough to consume 'raw'. However, as it is not clarified in the advert, it could also refer to sweet oranges from the region Seville. When scrutinising the 1896 fruit imports as recorded in the BiSOS F report, it is established that nearly 1,5 million kilograms of *apelsiner* were imported that year, but only 5,4 kilograms of *pomerans*, i.e. bitter oranges. As five kilograms cannot be divided meaningfully between 'half a million Seville oranges', this must indicate one of two things: the import were either wrongfully recorded as sweet oranges rather than bitter, or 'Seville oranges' in this instance refers to sweet oranges from Seville, where the latter is more likely.
[281] 'En half million apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 November 1896, p. 1.
[282] *Befolkningsutveckling – födda, döda, in- och utvandring, samt giftermål och skilsmässor 1749-2019*, Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2020.
[283] *Sveriges Officiella Statistik: A Befolkningsstatistik 1896*, Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1898, p. III.

where the pricing was probably reducing and the imports were amplified, but the luxury status was retained at least to some degree.

### 4.2.4 1910 – 1914: Further Increased Accessibility

This year-set stands out for several reasons. Firstly, as can be observed in TABLE 4.4, the number of hits on the word *apelsin* were remarkably few during this year-set as compared to previously. In fact, this year-set have numbers lower than that of the earliest year-sets. There are several characteristics which makes this discrepancy important. Firstly, as discussed earlier, *DN*'s leadership changed in 1909 which meant that its design transformed significantly mid-1909, increasing the number of pages per issue (between 12-20 pages). Therefore, it is interesting to note that with more space, there were fewer hits on oranges – either in adverts or in other texts. What this entails will be further discussed below.

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1910 | 53 |
| 1911 | 73 |
| 1912 | 67 |
| 1913 | 102 |
| 1914 | 34 |
| 1915 | 70 |

TABLE 4.4

The discrepancy between the number of hits on *apelsin* and the number of kilograms imported is significant. It demonstrates that there is no correlation between hits and imports, or hits and 'popularity' of the fruit. As TABLE 3.1 showcases, orange imports had increased in the decade prior to the 1910s, but somewhat stagnated between 1906 – 1915, where imports remained between five and six million kilograms. In comparison, the orange imports of 1890 – 1900 increased steadily from around 800,000 to nearly three million kilograms, therefore signifying a larger total increase. One explanation could be that the growing supply of oranges meant that they were becoming more engrained in Stockholmers' consumption, thus warranting fewer hits in *DN*. In other words, that they were common enough that they were less advertised and not 'exotic' enough to be reported on. Trentmann supports this argument by suggesting that 'cities provided a favourable space for product differentiation', affirming the idea that city dwellers were more likely to have access to oranges.[284]

*DN*'s portrayal of oranges suggests that many Stockholmers no longer viewed oranges as a unique luxury item, mirrored by how the imports show that they were imported in larger

[284] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 93.

quantities. As TABLE 3.2 demonstrates, the population growth in Sweden was not as explosive as the orange import growth, thus suggesting that the average orange consumption per citizen amplified. In 1910, there were nearly 350,000 Stockholmers, and the recorded imports of oranges to the city were over two million kilograms of the national total 5,4 million. The national average that year was therefore approximately nine oranges per person.[285] It seems as though orange consumption was higher in the larger cities than in the rest of the country, considering the distribution of the imports and Trentmann's statements. However, it must be reiterated that the statistics' reference to import location does not directly translate to location of consumption. Namely, there are no reliable indications to suggest that the oranges imported to Stockholm were consumed within the cities, rather than redistributed by merchants to other places in the country.

This can explain why there were fewer hits on *apelsin* in *DN* during this year, as they were becoming so common in Stockholm that there was no longer a pressing need for grocers to advertise the product. The increased standard of living and higher pay most likely contributed to making oranges available to more people than previously. While previously dominated by advertisements, the word was now often used in opinion pieces. One such example was published in March 1910, which mentioned that a suggested increased tariff on fresh fruit from abroad was discussed in the Swedish parliament *Riksdagen* at the time. One of the supposed arguments was that increased tariffs could protect the domestic fruit market, which was met with the counterargument, in the opinion piece, that the Swedish and international fruit productions operated during different seasons and with different fruits, thus negating the need to amplify current fresh fruit tariffs. Another important point brought up in this opinion piece was that 'until very recently fruit was a luxury reserved for the rich', and should now – according to the author – be classified as a necessity. Because of this, increased tariffs would allegedly be a 'big blow' to many. This implies that by the 1910s oranges' status as a luxury item was fading for many Stockholmers. The author says that the 1908 import of over two million kilograms of oranges to Stockholm should suggest that 'the luxury stamp is long gone.'[286] The author therefore seems to argue that the arrival of 'over two million kilograms of oranges' to Stockholm can be equated to the fruit no longer being a luxury good.

[285] *Befolkningsutveckling – födda, döda, in- och utvandring, samt giftermål och skilsmässor 1749-2019*, Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2020.
[286] 'Är den föreslagna tullförhöjningen å frukt lämplig?', *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 March 1910, p. 10.

A motion raising similar issues was presented to *Riksdagen* in 1914, supporting the idea to remove tariffs on fruits to make them more readily available to the greater Swedish public. The motion was authored by a group of liberal and social democratic politicians, and suggests that the unchanged import tariffs over the recent years solidified an uneven access to fruits and berries for different socio-economic groups.[287] Firstly, this shows that the debates regarding increased tariffs in the early 1910s did not lead to any immediate changes. Secondly, it shows that oranges were still primarily available to those with disposable income; cementing Simpson's finding that oranges were income elastic around the turn of the twentieth century.[288] While the opinion piece discussed above suggests that oranges were no longer a luxury item, the motion affirms that they were still taxed to the degree that they remained a luxury product was only realistically accessible to parts of the population. Nevertheless, the tariffs were lower for oranges than for example chocolate and sugar in this year-set, although the latter was closer with a difference of only five *öre*.[289] Therefore, the motion may have been written in a way that exaggerated the situation, and as the ambition of the motion was to avoid amplified tariffs, there was a need to compose compelling motions and opinion pieces.

A news report in *DN* in early 1914 relay the discussions in *Riksdagen*, listing the arguments for a removal as their positive impact on health, and primarily that tariffs made oranges inaccessible to the wider public. The counterarguments were that a removal of tariffs was not expected to generate larger orange consumption among less affluent classes, and that focus should be shifted toward other consumption goods 'which actually had an impact on a larger number of people', without giving a specific example.[290] This demonstrates the complexity of tracing the history of the accessibility of oranges within Swedish consumption; the general understanding of the status and availability of the fruit seems to fluctuate. Arguably, this reflects the fact that the role of products within consumption patterns is rarely fixed enough to allow a clear analysis of *when* they supposedly became more accessible to a wider range of socio-economic groups.

A type of advert in *DN* which suggests that oranges were becoming increasingly popular and available to more people than previously, is the holiday-related ads. In this year-set it appears

[287] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om tullfrihet å apelsiner*, motion 1914:174, Stockholm 1914, p. 3.
[288] Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture*, pp. 218-219.
[289] BiSOS F: Handel, *Statistisk Centralbyrå*, 1910, pp. 5-6.
[290] 'Apelsintullen', *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 February 1914, p. 5.

that oranges started to be mentioned regularly in Christmas and Easter adverts; a natural consequence of these holidays being encompassed in the citrus season. There were several advertisements listing oranges alongside traditional holiday foodstuffs such as marzipan, chocolates, and figs. What is interesting with these ads, however, is that oranges were rarely listed on their 'own', but often appear on a list of 'fresh fruit' or alongside other products. Other fruits on said lists often included bananas, apples, pineapple, and grapes – fruits that are not typically associated with holidays.[291] Therefore, while it can be argued that oranges themselves are intrinsically tied to holidays – as in many other countries in Europe – the case in Sweden seems rather to be that fruit in general was a holiday treat. This is substantiated by Schmid Neset's findings that fruit and berry consumption had been very limited in the 1800s.[292] Therefore, they were considered luxurious treats around the turn of the twentieth century.

Swedes have not associated oranges with Christmas as distinctly as other countries on the European continent, as clarified by the lack of literature mentioning oranges in relation to Swedish Christmas traditions. One that does is a short 'dictionary' titled *Julens ABC*, published in 1971 by Ingemar Liman. He mentions oranges in passing, suggesting they were a 'flavour associated with Christmas' because for a long time they had 'only been available at Christmas.'[293] This again reiterates that fruit had been a luxury item for a long time. Arguably, the relative availability of the fruit and its history as a luxury good made people splurge during the holidays as a form of celebration. The fact that oranges rarely appeared on their own in Christmas ads, but alongside other fruits in season, affirms this perspective.

Evidence which suggests that oranges were becoming less luxurious was the diversity of the orange imports during this year-set. Trentmann shows that historically the combination of higher income and cheaper foods 'created demand for more varied, higher quality goods.'[294] This chapter shows that a wider range of orange varieties were advertised. In the Christmas advert discussed above, four varieties are mentioned: Jaffa, Jamaica, Valencia, and Murcia.[295] From these varieties, it is interesting to note that the Jaffa orange had manifested itself already in the early 1900s. As put forward in chapter two, this Palestinian variety gained significant traction on the global orange market after the First World War when its citrus industry was

[291] 'Till Jul', *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 December 1910, p. 5.
[292] Schmid Neset, 'Reconstructing Swedish Food Consumption', p. 169.
[293] I. Liman, *Julens ABC: En bok om våra jultraditioner*, Halmstad: Forum, 1971, pp. 20-21.
[294] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p. 58.
[295] 'Till Jul', *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 December 1910, p. 5.

further modernised, but its presence in relation to Christmas before that point is noteworthy. It seems the first advert listing Jaffa oranges was made already in the 1880s.[296] This agrees with Karlinsky's perception that Palestine had an established citrus trade by then, and that Palestinian oranges were already then reaching northern Europe.[297] However, the 1910s showcase a wide range of varieties being advertised in *Dagens Nyheter*, showing that the fruit had manifested itself in Stockholmers' consumption patterns, thus warranting a more diversified market.

Another sign that oranges were becoming more and more available in Sweden during this year-set can be visualised using the pricing, which like earlier year-sets was sporadic and rather uninformative. Therefore, the analysis of the pricing is done cautiously. In 1911, a grocer advertised a dozen oranges for the price of 38 *öre*.[298] This was remarkably cheaper than previous year-sets, as for instance a dozen oranges in 1896 cost 85 *öre*.[299] While the difference in season is important to note, i.e. that the cheaper price was listed in April while that of 1896 was in the middle of the season, the discrepancy is still striking enough to not be based solely on quality. Hirdman's conclusion that salaries increased significantly more than food prices can be used to explain that oranges thus became available to a greater number of Stockholmers during this year-set, as the prices of oranges fell, and more people had money to spend on income elastic items.[300]

Another aspect which is notably different from previous year-sets is the number of recipes. Numerous recipes were published in *DN* which included oranges as an ingredient, for instance homemade ice cream[301] and a chicken dish which required 'two large, juicy oranges.'[302] This shows that *DN* expected its vast and socio-economically diverse readership to find this type of recipe beneficial, thus showing that oranges were being incorporated into the average Stockholmer's consumption patterns to a vaster degree than earlier. Other sources that highlight the increasing popularity and appreciation of the usefulness of the fruit include a brochure from 1911 by Albert Bonniers Förlag, titled '84 ways to cook oranges'.[303] It displays a range of

[296] 'Frukthandeln i Hôtel W6', *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 December 1884, p. 3.
[297] Karlinsky, 'California Dreaming', p. 26.
[298] 'Påsk', *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 April 1911, p. 10.
[299] 'Idag inkommit', *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 February 1896, p. 1.
[300] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, pp. 18-23.
[301] 'Apelsinglass', *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 January 1911, p. 5.
[302] 'Stekta unghöns med ris', *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 June 1912, p. 13.
[303] J. Bundy, *84 sätt att tillaga apelsiner*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1911.

recipes for lemonade, marmalade and cakes. Thus, the fruit had by now become common enough to warrant the need of an extensive brochure with the many ways to utilise it in cooking, mirrored by *DN*'s portrayal of it.

In a news report from March 1915, it is noted that any rumours about orange deliveries having been impeded due to the First World War were incorrect, but that an increase in price was to be expected due to prolonged and more complicated transportation across Europe.[304] As Spain remained neutral throughout the war, and Italy did not join until a month after the news report was published, presumably the transportation complications were related to a transport shift from shipping to trains.[305] It was discussed in chapter three that fruit trade was done via oceanic routes, but after the commencement of the First World War this was partially replaced with train connections to Lübeck, whereafter the oranges were shipped to Sweden. The news report estimated an increase in orange prices of about 20-25 %.[306] Some adverts around this time seem to debunk that suggestion however, listing oranges at only 48 *öre* a dozen.[307] However, the advert was published late in the season and does not specify which variety it concerned, again highlighting the complexity of tracing orange prices. In contradiction with the report, a short notice from December 1915 argues that there would be no significant increases to orange prices that season. The text is crucial because it argues that the new year would bring both appetising and cheap fruits 'as per usual' once the Italian oranges ripened.[308] This implies either that oranges from Italy were cheaper, or that once the Italian produce was added to the market, Spanish citrus producers were required to lower their prices. This portrayal of oranges in *DN* shows that the fruit was an important feature of Swedish consumption.

This year-set is also crucial because it falls within the decade where the understanding of vitamins was increasing, mirrored by the increased discussions about the health benefits of oranges. An article in *DN* from 1918 referred to vitamins in fruits and vegetables as 'peculiar' and 'important', showing the novelty of the understanding of it.[309] Furthermore, there are no

[304] 'Gott om apelsiner, men höga pris', *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 March 1915, p. 4.
[305] The hazard of seaborne trade was exemplified in December 1915 when a Danish steamship carrying '50,000 boxes, or 5 million oranges' was sunk by a naval mine on its journey from the Mediterranean to Denmark. The Danish trade was allegedly severely affected by this event, suggesting the country's reliance on the orange trade, and possibly explaining the reduction in orange imports to Sweden in 1916, when unrestricted submarine warfare was yet to be used. 'Dansk ångare minsprängd i Nordsjön', *Dagens Nyheter*, 11 December 1915, p. 8.
[306] 'Gott om apelsiner, men höga pris', *Dagens Nyheter*, 26 March 1915, p. 4.
[307] 'Frukt', *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 April 1915, p. 16; 'Frukt', *Dagens Nyheter*, 27 April 1915, p. 16.
[308] *Dagens Nyheter*, 10 December 1915, p. 6.
[309] 'Kan man leva utan fett?', *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 July 1918, p. 9.

mentions of the word 'vitamin' in *DN* before 1914, and no hits on 'vitamin C' until 1933. Nutritional scientist Kenneth J. Carpenter writes in his 'The Discovery of Vitamin C' that the knowledge of the health benefits of citrus with regard to curing scurvy have been known since the 1700s. The vitamin itself was not isolated until 1928 (by accident) and only properly so by 1933, explaining why there are few sources in *DN* or parliamentary debates discussing it in relation to oranges.[310] However, there was in general an amplified focus on health benefits of certain goods, particularly around and after the First World War, which can explain the increased imports of oranges. While there were yet to be a clear, scientific understanding of *what* the vitamins in oranges did, it was clear that they did *something*, which explains the increasing importance of the fruit during this year-set, mirrored clearly in *DN*'s portrayal of the public and political discourse.

In conclusion, the ambiguity of the adverts, opinion pieces and motions in *DN* as to whether oranges were a luxury item or not demonstrate that the role of the fruit in Stockholm consumption was instable. While some sources imply that oranges were still a luxury item, others maintain that they were a nutritional necessity, and therefore should be exempt from import tariffs so that less affluent people could afford to purchase the fruit. This was interlinked with the growing understanding of vitamins and oranges' health benefits. As the citrus industry developed and expanded, the price of oranges dropped. Despite the retained tariff of 10 *öre* per imported kilogram of oranges, the price reduced in this year-set as compared to the previous. It can thus be concluded that the content of *Dagens Nyheter* in the early 1910s show that the position of oranges within Stockholmers' consumption had altered, as the fruit for instance seemed common enough not to warrant the circulation of sensationalist news reports and several adverts, as observed in preceding year-sets.

### 4.2.5 1919 – 1920: Post-War 'Psychological Starvation'

As observed in chapter three, there was a significant increase in the import of oranges in the years immediately following the First World War, and 1919 stands out as particularly noticeable with around 11,5 million kilograms of oranges imported,

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1919 | 285 |
| 1920 | 258 |

TABLE 4.5

[310] K. J. Carpenter, 'The Discovery of Vitamin C', *Annals of Nutrition and Metabolism*, vol. 61, no. 3 (2012), pp. 260-262.

as opposed to the about five or six million in the years immediately preceding the war which constituted the former 'records'. Interestingly, the number of hits on *apelsin* are remarkably higher than in the previous year-sets, which does not correlate with aforementioned findings.

A unique characteristic of this year-set is the reflection of a 'post-war mentality' in *DN*. For instance, a poem from early 1919 titled *Det ljusnar*[311] indicated that the days of rationing were over,[312] and that oranges were finally arriving again.[313]As was discussed in chapter three, Hirdman showed that food was scarce in Sweden during the war, and affected city populations harsher than those living in the countryside.[314] Furthermore, as food prices went up as the war progressed, people opted for cheaper foodstuffs, and it is thus likely that the consumption of oranges reduced.[315] The poem's anticipation of oranges' return to the market demonstrates Hirdman's idea of 'psychological starvation'.[316] It can be construed that by the late 1910s oranges had become relatively common at least in cities like Stockholm, supporting the findings of the preceding year-set.

In February 1919 there was a news report published which contradicts the notion that the war would have a significant impact on the orange trade. It suggested that while the banana trade had been heavily impacted by the war, oranges were available in abundance, with the anticipation of a reduction in price.[317] However, an advertisement shortly after states the price of 360 oranges at 70 *kronor*, i.e. around 19 *öre* per fruit.[318] This contradicts the concept that the prices had been lowered, as it is significantly higher compared to other year-sets. Other adverts throughout the orange season of early 1919 showcase similar findings.[319] It is important to acknowledge that the end of the war brought about inflation in Sweden, as the purchasing power of citizens diminished between 1919 and the spring of 1920, when there according to Magnusson was a 'sharp fall in prices'.[320]

[311] Translation along the lines of 'The light at the end of the tunnel', or 'Things are looking up'. Essentially a positive exclamation that there are better times ahead.
[312] In 1918, only 1,788 kilograms of oranges were imported. This heavy reduction in import, as highlighted in chapter three, affected a plethora of goods.
[313] 'Det ljusnar', *Dagens Nyheter*, 10 February 1919, p. 6.
[314] Hirdman, *Magfrågan*, p. 247.
[315] *ibid.*, p. 254.
[316] *ibid.*, p. 267.
[317] 'Bananer först om ett halvår', *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 February 1919, p. 5.
[318] 'Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 20 February 1919, p. 13.
[319] 'Stora Valencia-apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 1 March 1919, p. 14; 'Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 March 1919, p. 17.
[320] Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden*, p. 164.

FIGURE 4.3

A striking feature of how *DN* portrayed oranges in this year-set is the amount of orange advertisements per day. For example, on 25 February 1919, there were as many as nine separate advertisements for, or including, oranges on one single page.[321] That number is based on the ads using the word *apelsin*, and not the ones including terms like 'fruit jam', 'fruit marmalade' and 'dried fruits'. Arguably, many of these products were orange-based as well. They are similar to ads in previous year-sets; simple in detail and information, including little more than the title 'Apelsiner', as exemplified in FIGURE 4.3.[322] Alongside the findings of chapter three, this suggests that oranges were so common that there was little need to include further details. Another sign of this is that oranges appeared listed after other items, no longer taking centre stage.[323] Two important insights can be extracted from these adverts. Firstly, that orange was not the most exclusive product on the list, and secondly, that it remained an important enough item to retain in said adverts. In other word, the ads in *DN* show that oranges shifted from being an important, exotic item, to becoming less significant. This was observed in some of the ads of the 1875 – 1880 year-set, but is notably more common in the 1919 – 1920 set, thus demonstrating a perceivable shift. An opinion piece from December 1919 reiterates this perspective by labelling oranges as an 'essential' foodstuff, validating the argument that oranges were a relatively common foodstuff for Stockholmers, at least in the sense that they were visible in shops and consumption patterns beyond the realm of those with high disposable income.[324]

While there have been some indications in *DN* that the luxury status of oranges had reduced, there are contradictive findings also in the early 1920s. An opinion piece discussed the alleged overindulgence Swedes engaged with in post-war times. The author maintains that while import of goods that usually would be referred to as luxury items – here exemplified by feather plumes and oranges –increased, it was not an increase that could be judged as significantly larger than that of pre-war 1913.[325] The text shows that some people still viewed oranges as a luxury item in the 1920s, demonstrating the ambiguity establishing how common the fruit was.

[321] *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 February 1919, p. 12.
[322] 'Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 February 1919, p. 12.
[323] 'Holländsk gul lök', *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 June 1919, p. 12.
[324] 'Stillahavskustens och Sveriges exportvaror kompletterar varandra', *Dagens Nyheter*, 19 December 1919, p. 13.
[325] 'Svenska folket har ej levt över tillgångarna', *Dagens Nyheter*, 10 March 1920, p. 1.

This year-set can be summarised as both reflecting and rejecting the assumptions made from the findings of the previous chapter, and the previous year-sets analysed above. While it is clear that there is no correlation between imports and hits, the representation of the fruit in *DN* during this year-set, combined with the remarkably large imports suggest that oranges were relatively common in Stockholm. This is further cemented by the sheer number of pages where there were multiple ads for oranges, showing the multitude of grocers who sold them. However, the assumption that high imports equate to low prices can neither be confirmed nor denied using this year-set, seeing as the prices fluctuated so rapidly, and that there are few – if any – reliable price records for oranges. The extraordinary situation of living in a post-war world perhaps negated the sensible thinking of not purchasing overly expensive oranges, and therefore the supply and demand construct was overrun by post-war mentality.

### 4.2.6 1928 – 1930: Oranges as a Common Food Item

The last year-set is concerned with the years 1928 through 1930. What is immediately obvious is that this year-set exhibits fewer annual hits than the previous year-set, despite remarkably higher imports. This again reiterates the notion that it is difficult to draw noteworthy parallels between quantity of orange imports and hits on the word *apelsin* in *DN*. The two concepts are not interlinked.

| Year | Number of hits on the word *apelsin* in *Dagens Nyheter* |
|---|---|
| 1928 | 183 |
| 1929 | 174 |
| 1930 | 164 |

TABLE 4.6

The late 1920s were in Sweden marked by a strong economy and substantial purchasing power of urban populations.[326] It is therefore interesting that there was such a noticeable discrepancy between orange imports and hits in *DN* – considering that Stockholmers had such vast purchasing capabilities, it would seem ideal to grocers to advertise their products in *DN*, as was so prevalent during the preceding year-set. Therefore, this is most likely an indication that orange consumption was so established in Stockholm that there was little need to advertise the fruit in order to incite customers to purchase.

A characteristic that stands out about this and the previous year-set is the added focus on prices of oranges. While this may seem like a benefit to the research, it is also problematic. In the late

[326] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, pp. 198-205.

1920s, there were so many types of oranges available, and in such abundance, that there is not much to be gathered when it comes to which varieties cost what. As it has been established that fruits from different countries differed in pricing, the lack of distinction in this year-set's ads problematises the task of analysing prices. While there are some indications, i.e. that 100 Valencia oranges could be purchased for 9 *kronor*,[327] other ads only specified that oranges could be purchased at 1:25 *kronor* a dozen, with the only type specification that they had 'thin peel'.[328] The price is therefore very similar, but it is unclear which varieties are referred to. Nevertheless, the fact that a substantial amount of varieties are advertised showcase the *extent* of the market. It can be argued that by the end of the 1920s oranges were undeniably commonly available, as construed from the large imports. When comparing the population of Sweden in 1928 with the amount of imported oranges, the national average was approximately 21 oranges per person, as compared to the 1915 average of eight per person, as can be viewed in TABLE 3.2.

Several texts were published in *DN* which promoted the orange consumption, and lobbied for the removal of tariffs on oranges on the grounds that they were 'unsympathetic' toward those with lower disposable income, and that this notion was supported by doctors.[329] One opinion piece maintained that the issue of the import tariff on oranges was not a tariff issue per se, but rather a public health concern.[330] A second argued that fruit should not be considered a luxury good, but a nutritional necessity that should be incorporated into every person's diet – only possible with the removal of the tariff.[331] These examples show that the position of fruits in general, and oranges in particular, within Stockholmers' consumption had changed, in the sense that there was a wider understanding of them as an essential nutritional good, rather than a luxury item. One can assume that as oranges became more and more common in the average Stockholmer's household, they became more visible in a plethora of cultural contexts, i.e. mentioned in letters sent to the paper from reporters abroad, discussion pieces about public health, and a number of recipes.

With this new focus on the health benefits of oranges, a number of interesting – and today quite questionable – texts and ads were published. For instance, and advert from March 1928

[327] 'Apelsiner!', *Dagens Nyheter*, 30 January 1928, p. 21.
[328] 'Apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 June 1928, p. 10.
[329] 'Apelsintullen osympatisk, säga läkarna', *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 October 1928, pp. 27-28.
[330] 'Att få bort frukttullarna', *Dagens Nyheter*, 21 October 1928, p. 3.
[331] 'All frukt är icke lyx', *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 October 1928, p. 14.

maintained that not only were oranges good for the health; they were also particularly good for battling rheumatism. The ad claimed that in certain health facilities specialising on treating rheumatism, the patients were 'forced' to consume a dozen oranges a day 'because oranges cleanse your blood.'[332] This shows a significant change in the cultural perception of oranges, having transitioned from a luxury item to a health food with sometimes overly glorified characteristics. With this growing appreciation of the health benefits, what reasons can be unveiled to explain the lack of change in tariff policies around oranges?

One suggestion is that the political understanding of oranges negated the possibility of the luxury item label to be removed, despite the public pressure. In other words, that politicians saw the consumption of oranges fundamentally as an upper-class activity, and therefore did not want to remove the import tariffs and the subsequent state revenue. The Social Democrats' party program for 1911 explicitly argued that indirect taxes in the shape of import tariffs had a severe economic impact on the poorer layers of society, and needed to be 'fought energetically.'[333] This explanation can justify the noticeable increase in opinion pieces promoting the consumption of oranges and the lowering of tariffs. It is further supported by a news report published in *DN* in May 1929, where it is noted that a removal of import tariffs on oranges and lemons would lead to an income loss of approximately two million *kronor* for the Swedish state; a considerable incentive to keep the tariff.[334]

Another question that naturally arises is why the imports kept increasing if the oranges were so expensive to import and purchase? And furthermore, why the increases were even more notable in the times when the complaints on the tariffs were so many? An important motion from 1929 arguing for the removal of import tariffs on oranges and other fruits, made the important distinction that it was 'commonly known that oranges are now available in nearly every grocery shop, and sold in most remote areas.'[335] This indicates that oranges were so common in Sweden that they were dispersed across both urban areas and countryside, reaching more socio-economic groups of Swedish society.

[332] 'Mot reumatism – ät apelsiner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 31 March 1928, p. 11.
[333] Socialdemokraterna, *Socialdemokratins program 1897-1990*, Stockholm: Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, 2001, p. 27.
[334] 'Tullfrihet för apelsiner och citroner', *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 May 1929, p. 6.
[335] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om upphävande av tullen å apelsiner, torkade äpplen, päron, aprikoser och persikor*, motion 1929:74, Stockholm, 1929, p. 15.

Another motion from that year highlighted that lemons had been made exempt from the import tariff, and requested the same be done for oranges.[336] This indicates that there was a difference in how certain citrus fruits were treated as opposed to others, which perhaps can be related back to the finding about state revenue mentioned above. The motion also argues that medical professionals interviewed in *Dagens Nyheter* had emphasised the essentiality of imported fruit in battling vitamin deficiency in Sweden during the winter months, and that the lower classes were particularly negatively impacted by this. Thus, while oranges were available to a larger number of people, the primary demographic consuming them was probably still part of the middle and upper classes.

While *DN*'s content in this year-set exhibits some of the uncertainty of previous year-sets with regard to how widespread oranges were and how accessible they were to the average Stockholmer, there are still strong indications that by this point in time oranges were accessible to a vast number of Stockholmers. The nature of the texts show that oranges were common in the public discourse, were advertised frequently to lower and lower prices, and viewed as a nutritional necessity that everyone should have access to.

## 4.3 Comparative Analysis and Conclusion

To summarise this chapter, numerous conclusions can be reached as to how *Dagens Nyheter* portrayed oranges between 1865 – 1930. Firstly, there was a minor change in how oranges were advertised, as the ads remained quite unspecific over the decades with only few exceptions. The most visible changes encompassed the addition of pricing – albeit sporadic and inconsistent – and a larger variety of oranges. The pricing itself is a complicated variable to include in this analysis, as factors that play a substantial role, like variety, origin, and quality, are often left out. Therefore, the pricing is referred to, but not utilised as an indisputable feature of the analysis.

Another noticeable thing is that oranges went from being advertised on their own in order to highlight the exclusivity, to holding a secondary position in ads. This sign of oranges transitioning from being a luxury good to a more common food item is perhaps the most notable finding of the year-sets' analyses. Furthermore, there was occasionally an observable impact of global geopolitical events, but to a lesser degree than expected, as the economic crisis of the

[336] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Om upphävande av all tull å frukt*, motion 1929:152, Stockholm, 1929, pp. 15-16.

late 1800s and the First World War seemed to have limited impact on the pricing and availability of the fruit. Additionally, the use of the word *apelsin* went from being predominantly reserved for adverts, to become readily used in news reports, opinion pieces, health discussions, and in reference to political dealings such as parliamentary debates and motions.

A characteristic reserved for the 1919 – 1920 year-set which sets it apart from others is the post-war mentality. The anticipation in the texts can be viewed as a sign that the role of oranges in Swedish consumption patterns had become so essential that their return to the market warranted the submission of poetry to the paper. Alternatively, the post-war mentality temporarily changed the communal perception of oranges and heightened their importance to Stockholmers, for example in Christmas time, more than what was actually 'truthful'. With this perspective comes of course the discussion of whether its temporarily heightened status really was ingenuine only because it was temporary – is a 'true' understanding of an item defined by its longevity? Nevertheless, the second explanation is more plausible than the first, on the basis that the praise of oranges was not to be found in other year-sets.

Lastly, as explored in chapter three, the tariffs on oranges remained up until the year 1929.[337] This is an interesting finding when considering that there were ongoing discussions about it for more than a decade in the public arena, and in the light of the intensely increasing imports. The significant increase in orange import in the end of the 1920s contradict the foundational arguments of most of the motions and opinion pieces; arguing that the import tariffs were inhibiting consumption of the fruit. Nevertheless, there is no definite indication as to *who* was consuming the oranges. It is futile to attempt to argue that an increased import must equal an increased and even distribution across all classes in Stockholm. Because the sources do not disclose who bought the oranges, and the available field of research has made no significant contribution to the understanding of this, it is impossible to confidently argue either case. However, considering that the public discussion in *Dagens Nyheter* and in parliament indicate a general dissatisfaction with the import tariffs and subsequent impact on the retail price of oranges, one can assume that the more affluent layers of society would purchase the majority of the product at least until the 1910s, followed by an ambivalent middle stage, and then an

[337] Sweden. Riksdagen, *Proposition med förslag till tulltaxeförordning ävensom i ämnet väckta motioner*, parliamentary decision 1929:316, Stockholm, 1929, pp. 7-12.

almost universal access in the late 1920s, possibly facilitated by the removal of tariffs on oranges in 1929.

To conclude, the portrayal of oranges in *Dagens Nyheter* shifted between 1865 – 1930. It is clear that the fruit transitioned from being an exotic food item reserved for the richer socio-economic groups of Stockholm, to become available in a wide array of grocery shops both in urban areas and in the countryside. Over time, it manifested itself as an essential part of Stockholmers' consumption patterns. This chapter has shown that there is no correlation between number of hits and the amount of oranges that are imported, but rather that the *content* of said hits showcase the changing consumption of oranges best. Nevertheless, the nature of the sources require some caution as the forums for motions and opinion pieces – the sources that discussed the luxury status of oranges most – stress slightly exaggerated or sensationalist language to appeal to as many as possible and promote change. The periods of consumption growth that were identified in the previous chapter, i.e. the 1890s, 1910s, and 1920s, are mirrored by the findings in *DN*, showing that the fruit gradually became more popular and common.

# 5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the current research field examining Swedish consumption history is relatively narrow, and dominated by historians who focus on overall economic perspectives and consequential consumption patterns. Several historians have pointed to the fact that Swedish consumption is an understudied topic, where Schmid Neset suggests that the very few micro studies that exist tend to focus on meat. Lee demonstrates that Swedish consumption started incorporating 'high quality and luxury' foods, but without clearer indication as to what these were. Sjöstrand found that by 1907 the food consumption of Stockholmers had changed to contain more – unspecified – fruits and vegetables, as the waste management systems of the city were revised to adapt to this. Historians Morell and Myrdal claim that the industrialisation of Sweden was directly linked to the increased consumption of 'imported foods and groceries.' Economic historians like Schön have shown that the industrialisation of Sweden contributed to increased living standards which altered consumption patterns as more people had disposable income and access to a rapidly expanding and diversifying food market. Trentmann shows similar findings, and that a culture of consumption emerged after the mid-1800s that rendered cities hubs of commerce where consumption could develop and diversify. These historians all demonstrate the nature of the current research literature: it is dominated by overview perspectives and attempts at generalisations. There is a lack of specific commodity histories in relation to Swedish food consumption, which is why this thesis contributes with valuable insights to the research field.

Throughout this thesis, the above-mentioned historians' overarching economic perspective has been utilised, while also approaching the topic by focusing on how one food item's status within consumption changed over time. This thesis has examined the growing orange consumption in Sweden between 1865 – 1930 in order to analyse when and how the fruit became a more common food item for the average Swede. This was done in two phases, firstly by analysing the economic aspects using national import statistics, and secondly by looking specifically at Stockholm and using approaches of cultural history to examine changing orange consumption there. Both approaches individually bring forth interesting and significant conclusions. The economic analysis utilised the two statistics depositories BiSOS F reports and SOS yearbooks, and examined and outlined how Sweden's orange imports fluctuated in light

of economic, social and political events. The cultural analysis studied advertisements, news reports, and opinion pieces gathered from national but Stockholm-based newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* to investigate whether the findings of the economic perspective were reflected in said sources when focusing on one city. The research question for chapter three was:

*How did orange import change between 1865 – 1930, and what does it imply about changing consumption patterns in Sweden?*

The research question for chapter four was:

*How were oranges portrayed in Dagens Nyheter between 1865 – 1930?*

Findings in chapter three showed that imports of oranges to Sweden increased steadily between 1865 and 1930, from less than three hundred thousand to nearly thirty million kilograms. The temporary decreases that were identified usually only lasted a few years, and were observable in the late 1860s, late 1870s, and – expectedly – during the First World War. Furthermore, the first half of the 1920s seem to indicate a stagnation in imports. There were particularly noticeable increases after each of the above-mentioned decreases. Overall, these trends show that orange consumption in Sweden kept increasing over the whole time period. The total increase of more than 11,500 % or just over 400,000 kilograms annually, clearly shows that oranges transitioned from being a luxury item to becoming more readily available to larger socio-economic groups. The quantity at which they were imported in the late 1920s were so large that they could not possibly have been consumed solely by the richer social classes; instead, they must have been more widespread in society.

This transition occurred despite that the tariff of 10 *öre* per kilogram remained throughout the entire timeframe up until its removal in 1929. While this tariff was lower than that of for instance chocolate and sugar, it was still heavily debated in public discourse. Both chapter three and four demonstrated that there was a general understanding in Sweden that the tariff restricted less affluent layers of society to access the fruit which by the 1910s was labelled a nutritional necessity. It is of course essential to consider that the wording of the public debate may have been exaggerated in order to influence decisions. As found, there were several motions put forward and discussed in parliament regarding whether this tariff should be removed. There are two important findings from the third chapter with regard to this. Firstly,

the fact that imports exploded between 1929 and 1930 (with nearly 70 %) can most likely be attributed to the removal of the tariff, therefore providing the conditions in which orange consumption could thrive. Secondly, orange imports were steadily increasing over the timeframe even without the removal of the tariff, and even though that event had a significant impact on the imports, there were still noteworthy increases before that point. In other words, oranges transitioned into becoming more available for the 'average Swede' without the aid of tariff removals, suggesting that it was instead influenced by consumer demand.

As noted, however, it is difficult to establish the impact of the tariff on the pricing of oranges, as so few price indications are to be found in the official statistics. While there were some price indications in the reports examined, they concerned other products such as milk and bread; unfortunately never oranges. The discussions of price in chapter three showed that no cohesive and reliable depiction of orange prices could be construed. Furthermore, the few indications that exist are non-descriptive in terms of which varieties of oranges they concern, and where they originated from. While it would be beneficial for the purpose of answering the research questions of this thesis to have access to detailed price records for oranges, attempting to obtain enough reliable and consistent data is too difficult – if not impossible – to achieve within the scope of this research. Nevertheless, the combination of a national economic analysis with the detailed cultural analysis circumvents this issue as the findings corroborate the conclusions of respective chapter. As a result, it is possible to argue that oranges became available to a vaster degree to the average Swede in the 1910s, and significantly so in the 1920s.

A crucial and unexpected finding from chapter three was that Swedish orange imports seemed rather unimpacted by global events, apart from during the final years of the First World War. In fact, the economic crisis of the late 1800s had little visible impact on the orange trade. Even more interestingly, it was found that immediately after the crises and conflicts, orange consumption expanded exponentially, with 1919 displaying remarkable imports.

With the findings of chapter three as a backdrop, chapter four utilised *Dagens Nyheter* as a case study and examined how oranges were portrayed in advertisements, news reports, and opinion pieces between 1865 – 1930. It is important to reiterate here that it is not expected that sources from *DN* alone can capture the average Stockholmer's orange consumption holistically. However, as it was one of the largest and most influential papers of the time, catering to all socio-economic groups, and boasting of having the cheapest advertising price, *DN* is one of the

newspapers that can provide the most insights into the contemporary Swedish context and ultimately Stockholmers' orange consumption.

Chapter four showed that several changes occurred in relation to how and when *apelsin* was mentioned in *DN* throughout this time period, showing the alteration of the perception of the fruit. In the early year-sets, oranges were predominantly referred to in short and non-descriptive advertisements. This could be due to that advertisers paid per line, and therefore aimed to take up as little space as possible to save money. What is most interesting about these short adverts is that they often listed *only* oranges, and the location or name of the grocer in the early year-sets. This indicates that grocers did not need to be more specific to enthuse their customers to buy oranges. In turn, this can be understood as an implication that oranges were a desired enough good that only the word was incitement enough for customers to purchase. It is important to note here that there were no price indications in the early adverts, neither for oranges nor other products. Therefore, it is difficult to compare different products with each other to determine whether they were considered to hold luxury status, or which socio-economic groups afforded them.

While the early year-sets show that oranges were advertised on their own, this changed over time. In later adverts, oranges sometimes took a secondary position; for instance, listed after apples or onions. This could indicate that they were starting to lose their luxury status; that other goods were viewed as equally or more important than oranges. However, the fact that they remained in the often very short and non-detailed adverts indicates that they retained some form of luxury status or importance. However, the word was not exclusively utilised in advertisements. While the hits in the first year-set often corresponded to ads, the later year-sets exhibit a gradual transition where oranges were mentioned more often in other places in *DN*, such as news reports and opinion pieces.

The penultimate year-set exhibits quite unique features. As found, 1919 – 1920 were characterised by remarkably high orange imports immediately following the war, which was mirrored by a high number of hits on *apelsin* in *DN*. This year-set showcased a larger quantity of creative writing using oranges. For instance, there was a type of post-war mentality present in the paper, which occasionally included oranges. In these cases, there were encouraging texts or poems about the anticipated arrival of oranges as the war was over and rationing was coming to an end. As shown in chapter three, Sweden was relatively unscathed economically after the

First World War, and therefore the population had the funds to consume oranges to a vaster degree than perhaps other European nations' populations. The 'praising' of oranges and the general anticipation of their arrival are unique to this year-set, and two primary explanations have been given for this. Firstly, it could indicate that oranges by the late 1910s had manifested themselves as an essential aspect of Swedish consumption, therefore warranting orange-related poetry to be published in a paper with national reach. The second explanation is that war-induced rationing momentarily altered the collective perception and appreciation of oranges, increasing their importance to Stockholmers. In other words, the near complete lack of oranges during 1918 made people aware of their desire for the fruit, and likely invoked what Hirdman labelled a 'psychological starvation'. This explanation is more likely than the former, as there was no 'praising' of oranges to be found in any year-set either before or after this one, strengthening the understanding that the texts were expressions of post-war mentality.

Lastly, the removal of tariffs on oranges in 1929 was most likely the reason behind the remarkable increase in imports between 1929 and 1930. Chapter three showed that at least the latter half of the year-sets' *apelsin* hits appeared in opinion pieces and reports on the ongoing parliamentary and public debate regarding the general dissatisfaction with import tariffs, and how they impacted the retail of oranges. The contents of the texts suggest that oranges were becoming more and more common in the sense that more people consumed them, while also showing that there was public disagreement regarding the pricing. However, high prices do not necessarily mean that people will stop purchasing, just that they will be unhappy with the cost. Particularly the later year-sets demonstrate that oranges had become quite common, but that there was still a public request for the removal of tariffs so the fruit could be further accessible to *all* socio-economic groups. Based on this, one can assume from the data collected in *DN* that oranges had evolved from being primarily available to affluent layers of society until approximately the 1910s, and from then progressing to reach more layers of society, until virtually exploding in Stockholmers' consumption patterns in the years immediately following the First World War.

The 1910s were, as explored, a time of increased understanding of healthy foods, with an amplified focus on medical research. The understanding that oranges could treat scurvy had been around since the 1700s, and when medical research amplified in Western economies around the 1910s it helped cementing the nutritional importance of oranges. Consequently, the growing understanding of the health benefits of oranges can explain why imports rose

extensively during that decade and the following, making oranges a more common aspect of Swedish food consumption patterns.

Interestingly, the hypothesis that increasing imports, and thus increased consumption, would translate to a higher yield of hits on *apelsin* in *DN* was incorrect. The idea was that increased supply and demand would generate more adverts, and more mentions of the fruit in general, for instance in news reports, discussions regarding the shipping industry, and so forth. However, as evident in chapter four, there is no correlation between imports and hits. The only year-set which seems to exhibit such a correlation is 1919 – 1920, which had remarkably high imports and also the highest hits observed throughout the whole time period. However, it was found that this was most likely a result of 'post-war mentality' and 'psychological starvation' due to for instance general rationing. The 1928 – 1930 year-set had the highest imports of the whole time period, but the hits on *apelsin* in *DN* were relatively low in comparison. However, while the number of hits does not show a correlation, the *content* of the hits is the strongest indication of how and when oranges changed from being a luxury item to becoming common and accessible to a wider range of Stockholmers, as will be explained next.

It is evident in the *DN* source material, and additional sources like parliamentary records, that oranges became increasingly popularised in the 1910s, and that by the 1920s they were available both across cities like Stockholm, and in the countryside. It is clear that there were adamant discussions regarding removing the tariffs on oranges so that more people could access them. This is especially interesting when comparing to the import statistics. In economic studies with a national perspective, the dramatically increased imports of a product are often construed as evidence that the product is available to a larger number of people. However, in this thesis it has become clear that explosively increasing imports do not necessarily generate a larger, general consumption. It is important to not conflate demand with access; oranges becoming gradually more affordable and available in 'abundance', which chapter three showed, did not necessarily mean that *all* socio-economic groups had access to the fruit. Instead, chapter four showed that by the late 1920s there was still a public outcry for the removal of tariffs. The parliamentary motions of the late 1920s argue that oranges were 'available' across the country, but only viably obtainable by those with higher disposable income, therefore motivating the request of the removal of tariffs. It should be noted here however that the parliamentary motions may not have been entirely truthful; arguing that retaining the tariffs on oranges was inhibiting less affluent socio-economic groups from

accessing necessary nutrition can have been an exaggeration. In other words, it is possible that the language of the motion inflated the actuality of the situation and the limited access to oranges by some groups in society, to gain traction in *Riksdagen*. Nevertheless, it shows that there was still a consensus that oranges could be made *more* accessible.

This thesis has shown that there is a plethora of avenues that can and should be explored in relation to Swedish food consumption and how it has altered through history. While this thesis has demonstrated the conversion of oranges from a luxury item to becoming more common in the Stockholm context – which contributes to generalisations about the overall Swedish context – future research can benefit from exploring further source material. Future research could for instance explore orange consumption focusing on another city, like Gothenburg or Malmö, to compare whether the findings of this thesis are corroborated if put in another context. It could also explore orange consumption using another array of source material. Potential sources include the combination of several newspapers, women's magazines (as Myrvang shows that around 75 % of household purchases were done by women around the turn of the twentieth century, therefore advertising had to cater to women's – perceived – interests), recipe collections and cookbooks. A comparison of cookbooks from a range of years prior to, during, and after the timeframe of this thesis can shed light on how consumption of oranges altered over time; did the use of them increase and diversify over time?

The research has shown that more and specific commodity histories that go beyond the traditional approach of looking at meat intake are necessary within Swedish consumption history. While the overview perspectives of the secondary literature mentioned throughout this thesis contribute with crucial information about general Swedish consumption, they lack the nuance and details of comprehensive commodity histories. Future research could consider analysing an array of food items, both luxury and staple, to examine how Swedish consumption patterns have changed over time. While the present research is a valuable contribution, further studies could assist in creating a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of Swedes' consumption patterns, both from a generalised perspective, and focusing on specific cities. If the source material allows for it, studies into how different social groups and even genders consumed various food items through history could bring invaluable insights. The more research that is conducted in this field, the more material there is to analyse and compare.

# Concluding Discussion

This thesis showed that Williamson's demarcation of the waves of globalisation is not entirely applicable when examined through the lens of orange consumption in the Swedish context. When considering the international trade and connectedness from the perspective of the Swedish engagement with orange trade, it is clear that there was a substantial surge during the time he labels as exhibiting low convergence. Further studies into other food items may perhaps either corroborate or refute this thesis' claim that Sweden's imports do not reflect Williamson's ideas of what the first wave of globalisation meant in terms of Sweden's economy. In this way, further research can progress the work of Adam McKeown and his questioning of the otherwise rather accepted periodisation of globalisation. In other words, there are a multitude of opportunities to further the research of this thesis, which can broaden the understanding of Swedish consumption history, and the consumption history of specific cities and social groups. Furthermore, future research can broaden the understanding of how and why we characterise and periodise globalisation the way we do in the present academic climate.

This thesis has shown that oranges transitioned from being a luxury item in the 1800s, to become a more common feature of Swedish consumption in the early decades of the 1900s. The combination of an economic analysis of the import statistics, and the cultural analysis of *Dagens Nyheter*'s content regarding oranges, is an innovative and important contribution to the understanding of Swedish food consumption history.

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